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THE CABINET

HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

CIVIL, MILITARY,

AND

ECCLESIASTICAL;

FROM THE INVASION BY JULIUS CÆSAR TO THE YEAR 1846.

By CHARLES MACFARLANE.

VOL. TWELFTH.
XXIII.—XXIV.

BLACKIE AND SON:
LONDON, EDINBURGH, AND GLASGOW.
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CABINET

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK X.—*Continued.*

CHAPTER I.—*Continued.*

GEORGE III.—*Continued.*

THE British Parliament had been dissolved by proclamation soon after the close of the last session. The new Parliament assembled on the 6th of Oct. 1797, and was opened by a speech from the throne, in which his majesty repeated his anxious wish for an honourable peace, and announced the intended fruitless and degrading mission of Lord Malmesbury to Paris. Allusion was also made to the success of our arms in the East and West Indies, and to the brilliant campaign of Archduke Charles. The usual addresses passed without a division.

On the 7th of November, Pitt opened the budget. The money required by ministers was 27,945,000*l.* Among the ways and means they proposed was a new loan of 18,000,000*l.* There seemed to be, on the whole, a good English spirit in the House. Whatever Pitt said that was animating, as to the courage and resources the country, and our capability of achieving the safety of Europe, our own glory and permanent advantage, was well cheered; but Fox, on the other hand, was heard in dead silence when he endeavoured to attribute the zeal shown in the new loan, called the loyalty loan, to a desire of peace.* It had been stated by Pitt, in his speech on

* Dr. French Lawrence to Burke; Epistolary Correspondence.

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opening the budget, that ministers had made an advance of 1,200,000*l.*, to the hard-pressed emperor. On the 13th of November, Fox triumphantly moved "That his majesty's ministers, having authorised and directed, at different times, and without the consent and during the sitting of Parliament, the issue of various sums of money for the service of his imperial majesty, and also for the service of the army under the Prince of Condé, have acted contrary to their duty, and to the trust reposed in them, and have thereby violated the constitutional privileges of this House." Pitt took up good ground, by admitting that it was an irregular act which he had hazarded, knowing his responsibility, but not doubting his duty; that he had had only a choice of difficulties, from the exigencies of our ally on the one side, and from the public panic on account of the scarcity of specie at home, on the other. When Pitt sat down, the Hon. Charles Bathurst Bragge, treasurer of the navy, moved an amendment upon Fox's resolution, to the effect that the advance to the emperor, "though not to be drawn into precedent but upon occasions of special necessity, was, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, a justifiable and proper exercise of the discretion vested in his majesty's ministers by the vote of credit, and calculated to produce consequences which have proved highly advantageous to the common cause, and to the general interests of Europe;" and this was carried by a majority of 285 to 81.

The precipitate return of Lord Malmesbury from Paris was followed, on the 26th of December, by a message from the king to Parliament, in which his majesty declared that the rupture of the negotiation did not proceed from the want of a sincere desire on his part for the restoration of peace, but from the excessive pretensions of the enemy, which were incompatible with the permanent interests of this country and the general security of Europe.

A.D. 1797.—During the last year the directors of the Bank of England had several times represented to the chancellor of the exchequer their inability of supplying

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his rapid and increasing demands. The dread of an invasion had, moreover, produced a run upon the bank for specie, and certain opposition pamphlets and journals had done their best to increase this panic, as a likely means of overthrowing Pitt; not bearing in mind that it might have overthrown the country as well. On the 9th of February, the bank directors informed Pitt that to comply with his new request of making a further advance of 1,500,000*l.* as a loan to Ireland would most probably force the directors to shut their doors. In this alarming state of affairs the Privy Council, on Sunday, the 26th, sent an order prohibiting the directors of the Bank of England from issuing any cash or specie in payment, till the sense of Parliament could be taken, and measures be adopted for supporting public credit. This decisive step was announced to Parliament on the next day by a royal message; and the subject was immediately taken into consideration by both Lords and Commons. The opposition testified as much glee as a noted smuggler is said to have done at seeing the old Custom-house on fire. This must crush the cold proud minister, who prided himself most of all on his financial ability, or nothing would. Fox exultingly gave notice that he should feel it necessary to move an inquiry into all the past transactions between the bank and the minister, and said several things very proper to keep up the panic, and destroy what little credit there was left at that moment. Sheridan, Whitbread, and others made motions with the same animus. We need only mention here a few immediate measures. Ministerial motions were carried in both Houses for appointing by ballot a secret committee to examine into the affairs of the bank. In the meanwhile the bank was authorised to issue small notes. The secret committee soon reported that there was a clear balance or surplus belonging to the bank, of 3,826,890*l.*, exclusive of a debt from government of 11,666,800*l.*; that the bank had lately experienced a drain of cash, owing to the prevalence of alarm; that, as this alarm might continue, the bank might be deprived of the means of supplying the cash necessary for the exi-

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gencies of the public service; and that therefore it was proper to continue the measures already taken, for such time and under such limitations as should seem expedient to Parliament. The Commons having resolved themselves into a committee of the whole House to take this report into consideration, Pitt moved for a bill to continue and confirm for a limited time the restriction of the issue of specie by the Bank of England; and, after various clauses had been added, chiefly by ministers themselves, this bill was passed. The bank was to be authorised to issue specie to the amount of 100,000*l.* for the accommodation of private bankers and traders; and saving and except to the army and navy, who were to be paid in cash, bank notes were to be a legal tender to all. The government immediately guaranteed a further loan of 2,000,000*l.* for our ally the emperor.

While Parliament was sitting mutinies broke out in the fleets, which gave far greater alarm than the bank suspending cash payments. For some time discontents had prevailed among the seamen, the principal subjects of which were the miserable smallness of their pay and of the Greenwich pensions, neither of which had been augmented since the reign of Charles II.; the very unequal distribution of prize-money, which gave almost everything to the admirals and superior officers, leaving next to nothing to the petty officers and the crews; the excessive harshness and severity of the discipline, and the haughty and tyrannical behaviour of many of the officers. Within three days, at the beginning of the month of March, Lord Howe, who still held the chief command of the Channel fleet, but who was then at Bath for the benefit of his health, received four petitions, from the 'Royal George,' 'Formidable,' 'Ramilies,' and 'Queen Charlotte,' soliciting the interposition of his lordship, as the seamen's friend, with the Admiralty, in order that the seamen might in their turn experience an act of munificence like that which had been shown to the army and militia, in the provision made for an increase to their pay, and for their wives and families.

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Lord Howe, considering their tone rather mutinous, submitted the four petitions to Earl Spencer, the head of the Admiralty, and wrote to the port-admiral, Sir Peter Parker, and to Lord Bridport, who was holding the command of the Channel fleet under him (Earl Howe). Sir Peter and Lord Bridport replied, that the petitions (three of which seemed to be in the same handwriting) were the work of some ill-disposed person; and in consequence of this reply, both Lord Howe and Earl Spencer thought that no danger was to be apprehended. But on the 12th of April the Board of Admiralty were startled by Sir Peter Parker, who reported that intelligence had been communicated to him of a regular plan, concerted, some time before, by the seamen, to take the command of the ships from their officers, which plan was to be carried into execution on the 16th of April. Instantly orders were given by telegraph from London to Portsmouth for the fleet to proceed to sea. But, when Admiral Lord Bridport made the signal to prepare for sailing, the seamen mounted the rigging, instead of going to the capstan, and gave tremendous cheers—cheers of defiance. This astounding act was followed by others still more decisive: the men took all command from their captains and officers; they appointed "delegates," two from each ship, who met in council in the great cabin of the 'Queen Charlotte,' Lord Howe's flag-ship; and there they wrote and issued orders to all the seamen of the fleet to take oaths of fidelity to the cause. By the 17th every man was sworn. They put on shore a good many officers whom they accused of oppression, keeping the others on board as prisoners or hostages; but at the same time they passed resolutions to maintain order and sobriety, and to pay all due respect to the officers on board from whom they had taken the command. To strike terror ropes were then reeved (the sailors' preparation for hanging) at the fore-yard-arms of every ship, but they found no occasion to use this tackle, except for ducking minor offenders. There is no denying or concealing the fact—the men had been ill-paid, ill-fed, shamefully neglected by the country which depended

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upon them for its all, and in many instances harshly and brutally treated by their officers, and belly-pinched and plundered by the pursers; and, with a tithe of their wrongs, or with no wrongs at all, if the French sailors had made this mutiny, they would have murdered most of their officers, as in fact many French crews had done on the first promulgation of liberty and equality and the other Jacobin principles. But here not a drop of blood was spilt, nor, after the landing of the obnoxious officers, was there so much as an insult offered. Punishments were inflicted on all who got drunk, or misconducted themselves in any way. The mutineers allowed all frigates with convoys to sail, in order not to injure the commerce of the country. The thirty-two delegates drew up and signed a petition to Parliament and another to the Admiralty: their language was respectful, and their demands were very far from exorbitant. Government was now in an extremity of alarm. The board of admiralty was transferred to Portsmouth, and a kind of negotiation was entered upon with the mutineers. After some discussion it was notified to the sailors that their demands were complied with, and that it was expected that all would return to their duty. The delegates, however, declared it to be the general resolution that nothing could be agreed to which was not sanctioned by Parliament, and guaranteed by the king's proclamation; and one of the admirals having used menaces on the occasion, the mutiny bore a more hostile aspect than before. At length, Lord Bridport went aboard, hoisted his flag, and acquainted them that he brought with him a redress of all their grievances, and the king's pardon; the consequence of which was that obedience was immediately restored.

From April 23rd to May 7th the fleet remained in due subordination, when a fresh mutiny broke out, on a suspicion among the sailors that the promises made to them would be violated. Lord Howe, whose influence in the navy was greater than that of any other person, then went down, and his addresses and assurances having fully satisfied their minds, they were again reduced to

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order. In all these measures the seamen lying at Plymouth concurred. On May 8th, the ministry laid before the House of Commons estimates for the augmentation of pay to the seamen and marines of the navy, the sum of which was stated at 436,000*l*. Mr. Pitt, in moving for this grant, deprecated any discussion in the House of the case, and hoped that it would pass its judgment by a silent vote. The opposition, however, urged that the ministers had been culpably negligent in not having applied to the House sooner on the business, and a motion of censure to that purpose was made: it was, however, negatived, and a bill for the increase of pay in the navy, with a clause for continuing the pay to wounded seamen till cured, passed into a law. At the demand of the sailors, who charged them with oppression and tyranny, one admiral (Colpoys), four captains, twenty-nine lieutenants, seventeen master's mates, twenty-five midshipmen, five captains of marines, three lieutenants of marines, four surgeons, and about thirteen petty officers, were withdrawn from the service, and others appointed to fill their places.

While these things were transacting in Portsmouth, a fresh mutiny broke out at Sheerness. At first it gave little alarm, as it was reasonably calculated that the terms which had satisfied Lord Bridport's ships, and which were to be extended to all ships and fleets whatsoever, would satisfy the mutineers at Sheerness; but great was the consternation when, on the 20th of May, many of the ships lying at the Nore, and soon afterwards nearly all of those belonging to the North Sea fleet, hoisted the red flag, chose two delegates from every ship, and went much farther than their precursors had done, by electing a president, who styled himself "President of the Floating Republic." This mutiny was, in fact, altogether different from the other; and it was met in a very different spirit by all classes on shore. The Portsmouth men had demanded nothing but a redress of long accumulated and crying grievances; in the midst of alarm the sympathy of the nation went along with them; but these madmen at the Nore had been perverted by some floating demagogues, and had no grievances left to complain of, and

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no demands to make but such as were ridiculous, or incompatible with the service; and, like so many other half or wholly Jacobinized classes of men, they knew not what they were aiming at. It appears that their chief perverter was the very aspiring man they had elected for their president. This was Richard Parker, a native of Scotland, and at one time a little tradesman of Edinburgh, who had ruined his affairs by a too close attention to politics, and who had then abandoned his wife, and entered on board a man-of-war as a common sailor. The man had some education, and he had frequented debating clubs and reforming societies until he conceited himself an orator and a statesman. Under his direction a committee of twelve was appointed in every ship; and these committees decided upon all affairs, and upon the merits of the respective delegates. There were some minor arrangements, which showed how attentive a student Parker had been in the school of the Edinburgh clubs. On the 20th of May the delegates delivered "A Statement of the Demands of the Sailors," peremptorily insisting upon compliance as the only condition upon which they would return to their duty. This mutiny was the more alarming, as the position of the ships enabled them to establish an effectual blockade of the port of London. Two vessels laden with stores and provisions they seized and appropriated. The conduct of the Foxite opposition, who had done great mischief during the previous mutiny, by delaying the minister's bill in favour of the seamen, was at this present crisis unpatriotic in the extreme, and, in our humble estimation, infamous. On the 26th of May, when the mind of the country was wholly occupied and agitated by the daring conduct of Parker and his delegates, Mr. Grey rose in the House of Commons to move *for a sweeping reform in Parliament*. He was seconded by Erskine, and supported by Sir Francis Burdett, Sir Richard Hill, Sir William Dolben, Mr. Smith, Mr. Pollen, Mr. Fox, the great leader, and others of his party. The vast majority of the House testified their disgust at the time chosen for agitating such a question, and the motion was smothered by a vote of 258 against 93.

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Not a man of the defeated party could have had the shadow of a hope that the motion would pass; but now they pretended to be driven to despair by its rejection, and by the numbers and obstinacy of the Pittites; and Fox and most of his friends instantly seceded from Parliament, declaring their attendance there useless; retired into the country, and hoisted as it were the black flag of despair to the English people, or to the, at that time, very limited portion of the nation that was eager for a reform of the House of Commons. Some of the seceders returned to their seats, and attended occasionally to their parliamentary duties; but none of them returned during Parker's mutiny, and from this time till the month of February, 1800, Fox spoke only three or four times in the House.

The members who remained at their posts behaved with becoming spirit, and imparted additional firmness to the government. The buoys at the mouth of the river were taken up, batteries were erected alongshore for firing red-hot shot, and a proclamation was issued declaring the ships in a state of rebellion, and forbidding all intercourse whatever with them. Fierce dissensions now broke out among the mutineers, who became sensible that their fellow-seamen in the other fleets and the whole nation were against them. For some time they had been sick of Parker's long speeches, and had deprived him of his presidency. On the 4th of June, the king's birthday, the whole mutinous fleet, to prove its loyalty, fired a royal salute and displayed all the gay colours and flags usual on such occasions, the red flag being struck during the ceremony on board every ship except the 'Sandwich,' where Parker was. A day or two after this, several of the ships deserted the rebels, who pointed their guns at them, but did not fire, and went for protection either up the Thames or under the guns of Sheerness. In those that remained, the well-disposed rose upon the determined rebels, and many wounds were given and some few lives lost. By the 13th of June the bloody flag had disappeared from every mast-head; and on the following morning, the crew of

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the 'Sandwich' carried the ship under the guns at Sheerness, and gave up ex-president Parker to a guard of soldiers, who carried him on shore. Parker was solemnly tried, and was hanged at the yard-arm of the 'Sandwich' on the 30th. A few of the delegates were executed shortly after, some of the ringleaders were flogged through the fleet, and others were left under sentence on board prison-ships; but the general good behaviour of our fleets at sea, and Admiral Duncan's victory off Camperdown, gave an excellent occasion for the exercise of royal mercy, and in October a general pardon was proclaimed. The mutiny at the Nore, which had madness for its origin and nothing but mischief for its end, was thus put down with (for the times) a very small sacrifice of human life. From the other mutiny may be dated the most rapid improvement in the management and condition of our sailors, with a proportionate improvement in the discipline and spirit of the men and the gallantry of their officers.

On the 20th of July the king prorogued parliament.

"The year of mutinies" was not altogether an inglorious year to the British navy. On the 14th of February the late Mediterranean fleet, under Admiral Sir John Jervis, fell in, off Cape St. Vincent, with the great Spanish fleet, just come out of Cadiz under the command of Don José de Cordova, who had recently superseded Langara. The Spaniards had twenty-seven sail of the line, the English only fifteen; but the greater part of the Spanish crews were about equally destitute of seamanship and spirit; and Nelson, who was in himself worth a whole squadron of line-of-battle ships, was with Sir John Jervis, and executed all the daring and really brilliant part of the action. By breaking the line, by battering and boarding, four Spanish ships of the line, including one of 112 guns, were taken, and all the rest were driven into Cadiz and there blockaded. The news of this opportune victory reached London at the time of the panic caused by the state of the Bank of England, and had a great effect in reviving the national spirit. Sir

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John Jervis was made Earl St. Vincent, and Nelson a Knight of the Bath.

On the 11th of October Admiral Duncan, with sixteen sail of the line, attacked a Dutch fleet of eleven sail of the line and four 56-gun ships, which had stolen out of the Texel during a storm, and which was on its way to join the great French fleet at Brest. The Dutch admiral, de Winter, his officers and crews, fought their ships in a very different style from the Spaniards—fought them like brave men and excellent sailors—like worthy descendants of the men who had so long disputed with us the empire of the seas. Their inferiority of force was very considerable, and the only particularly glorious part of the action, on the side of the English, was the daring way in which they ran between the Dutch line, close inshore, and the dangerous coast; thus setting an example which Nelson afterwards followed at the battle of the Nile. After a most obstinate combat, and a terrible loss in killed and wounded on either side, Admiral de Winter struck; and eight ships of the line, two 56-gun ships and two frigates, remained as trophies of victory to the English; but they were little more than trophies, being all riddled in their hulls like sieves, and otherwise so cut to pieces as to be nearly all incapable of repair. This victory off Camperdown excited a rapturous joy at home. Duncan was very properly elevated to the peerage. In the meanwhile, in the month of July, misled by incorrect intelligence, Nelson with a small force had made a very unfortunate attack on Santa Cruz, in the island of Teneriffe, which had ended in the loss of his own right arm and of the lives of some two hundred of his men.

In the West Indies we were capturing the Spanish islands like those of the French and Dutch.

Before proceeding to the war on the Continent, we must mention a strange expedition of the French to the English coast, which occurred during the money-panic. On the 20th of February four vessels, three of them old French frigates, came to anchor in the British Channel off Ilfracombe. They had troops on board, but no attempt was made to land there, as the North Devonshire

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volunteers presently lined the coast. The ships stood over to the Welsh coast, and there, in a bay near Fishguard, the troops were disembarked. They advanced into the wild country of Pembrokeshire apparently without knowing whither they were going. The alarm was spread rapidly; the Welsh collected on every hill and in every valley to oppose them; and more than 3000 men, including 700 well-trained militia, with Lord Cawdor at their head, marched directly against the invaders, who, without firing a shot, laid down their arms and surrendered as prisoners of war. There were 1400 of them, without artillery, but well supplied with ammunition. The men were in rags, and looked more like felons escaped from prison, than soldiers.

In order to strengthen the armies in Italy, the victorious Archduke Charles had been left weak on the Rhine. He recovered Fort Kehl at the beginning of the year; but Moreau, strongly reinforced, again reduced that important fortress, and defeated the Austrians in a great battle in the month of April. Nearly at the same moment Hoche, who commanded on the Lower Rhine, defeated General Krey; and other French divisions were again advancing into the heart of Germany, when their march was suspended by the intelligence that the emperor was negotiating for a peace with Bonaparte.

Both the young republican general and the old Austrian marshal had received reinforcements during the winter. Alvinzi, as early as the month of January, took the field with 50,000 men, intending not merely to relieve Wurmser, but also to drive the French from the whole line of the Adige; but he again divided his forces; was defeated at Rivoli on the 14th of January; and after General Provera, who had surrendered with 2000 men the year before, had surrendered with a division of 5000 men now, old Wurmser, being reduced to extremities for want of provisions, was obliged to capitulate in Mantua.

The pope was unable to pay the enormous contributions demanded from him. After the surrender of Mantua the French overran the greater part of the

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Papal States, scattered with a few shots some 6000 or 8000 very unwarlike troops in the pope's pay, took possession of the city and port of Ancona, and at Tolentino dictated new and still harsher conditions of peace to the helpless head of the Catholic Church. By this time Austria had poured another army to the frontiers of Italy, and had given the command of it to the Archduke Charles. But this last Austrian army was composed almost entirely of raw recruits, and of the disheartened fragments of the forces of Beaulieu, Wurmser, Davidowich, Alvinzi; and the archduke, instead of being left to his own genius and ready resources, was checked and embarrassed by the Aulic Council at Vienna. On the other side, the French, already superior in numbers, were flushed with victory; and General Bernadotte, who had quitted the army of the Rhine, joined Bonaparte with 20,000 men. After sustaining some terrible defeats in the month of March on the Tagliamento, the archduke retreated slowly and in admirable order towards Vienna, in the hope of receiving reinforcements from that capital and from Hungary, and of drawing the French into the hereditary states, where a population enthusiastically devoted to the emperor would be sure to rise *en masse* and attack them on their flanks and rear. The campaign was not hopeless; the archduke was full of hope and ardour; the French, who had violated the continental territories of the republic of Venice, were apprehensive of an attack on their rear from that quarter; General Laudon was pouring through the valleys of the Tyrol with another Austrian division, was driving back the French detachments on the Upper Adige, and was almost on the edge of the plains of Lombardy. Bonaparte was full of anxiety; but, disguising this feeling, and suddenly pretending to deplore the horrors of war, and to be anxious, merely for humanity's sake, for a peace, he wrote a very flattering letter to the archduke, calling him the saviour of Germany, and representing England as the only power in Europe that had an interest in continuing the war. The archduke referred him for an answer to Vienna. Bonapate was now at

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Judenburg, in Upper Styria, about eight days' march from Vienna; but notwithstanding the successes of Moreau and Hoche, there was no republican army in the valley of the Danube to co-operate with him, he had many streams to pass, and several dangerous defiles before him, and behind him the Lombard-Venetians, though without any aid from their timid, contemptible government, were actually rising in insurrection, it being reported among the people, who had many wrongs to avenge, that the French army had got enclosed in the mountain passes of Carniola and Styria, and would inevitably be compelled to lay down their arms.

The French, on their first advance into the Venetian dominions, and many months before any popular insurrection was heard of or thought of, had made up their minds to overthrow that aristocratic republic, to appropriate all its territories on the continent, together with the city of Venice itself, seated on its hundred isles, to keep all this as an affiliated or dependent republic, or to barter it away (after having well plundered it) for territory elsewhere and other advantages.* In a secret article to the preliminaries Bonaparte now agreed to give the neutral state of Venice to Austria in compensation for her losses. This done, Bonaparte hurried back to the Adige, took a sanguinary vengeance for some disgraceful excesses which had been committed by the people of Verona and its neighbourhood, sent his propagandists into the city of Venice, to excite a mad democratic party into insurrection against the Doge and the aristocrats by promising them liberty and equality, and by setting up the tree of liberty under the shadow of the winged lion in the square of St. Mark; roused the people to rebellion in Bergamo, Brescia, and other towns, got possession of the castles and other fortified places by pretending that he meant merely to keep them until a free, democratic, and essentially independent republican government could be settled by dele-

* The correspondence of Bonaparte published by Panckoucke fully establishes this fact, which is proved by a mass of other evidence equally incontrovertible.

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gates and representatives of the people (in all these deeds a body of Poles, who had been so recently duped, betrayed, and then beaten out of their own country, were active and zealous co-operators with the French); introduced surreptitiously troops into Venice, and next, with something plainer than words, told the Doge and the senate that the people must have a new constitution and form of government, and that they must resign; which the equivocating, heartless cowards did in the month of May. Bonaparte then took possession of the arsenal and docks, with all their stores and all the ships of war; a provisional government of the required democrats insulted their pusillanimous, degenerate nobles with impunity, sang the "Ça Ira" with the French soldiery, and danced round the tree of liberty in the square of St. Mark in an extasy, and down to the last moment without any foreboding that they and their country were to be given up to the hated rule of the Austrian Kaiser. At the same time, but with much less deception and difficulty, Genoa was democratised and affiliated. The shuffling senate and aristocracy of that once proud republic had hoped to preserve themselves by their neutrality, and their secret co-operation with the French; but one fine day in June the democrats of the city hoisted the red nightcap, and told them that their government was no longer compatible with the improved notions of the times. Four millions of livres were wrung from the principal nobility, and sent to the five kings at the Luxembourg; a French garrison took possession of the city, and of the mountain fortifications which gird it; and all who gainsaid what was done were put under arrest, while the peasants who attempted to defend their native mountains and their homesteads were tried by martial law and shot.

All this while negotiations were going on, and the young republican general was browbeating the Austrian diplomatists, now hinting that he might have gained much more for France by continuing the war, and now threatening to shatter Austria like a potsherd. As England was now clearly to be left in the war without

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a single ally, Pitt, as early as the month of June, intimated to the Directory a willingness to enter into a new negotiation. The Directors, who had taken up and echoed Bonaparte's note that France loved peace, agreed to the opening of conferences at Lisle. In the beginning of July Lord Malmesbury repaired to that city, and continued there exchanging useless notes and receiving many insults until the middle of September, when he was ordered to quit the place within four-and-twenty hours. Again, as we believe, Pitt was driven into a humiliating negotiation without any expectation of concluding a treaty; and again the French, while pretending to negotiate and to blame the insincerity of the English cabinet, were stirring up insurrection and civil war in Ireland.

On the 17th of October the definitive treaty of peace between France and Austria was signed at Campo Formio, near Udine. The emperor ceded to France all the Netherlands, and the left bank of the Rhine, with Mayence, the great outpost and bulwark of Germany; he gave up, nominally to the natives, but virtually to the French, all that he had held in Lombardy, acknowledging the independence of the Milanese and Mantuan States, under their new name of the "Cisalpine Republic;" and he consented that the French republic should have the Ionian Islands, which then belonged to Venice, and the Venetian possessions in Albania. The French republic, on its part, *consented* (which was the word) that the emperor should take and keep Venice, and its territory in Italy as far as the Adige, together with Istria, at the head of that sea, and all Venetian Dalmatia, on the opposite side of the Adriatic. The Venetian provinces between the Adige and the Adda were to be incorporated with that political phantom, the Cisalpine Republic. The emperor, who, in the case of Venice, had admitted the principle of taking neutral or friendly states as compensations from an enemy, was also to have an increase of territory in Germany at the expense of Bavaria, and his feudatory and relative by marriage, the Duke of Modena, was to have the Brisgau.

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Modena, Massa, Carrara, and all the papal provinces of Bologna, Ferrara, Ravenna, Faenza, and Rimini, as far as the Rubicon, were declared to be annexed to the Cisalpine Republic aforesaid. Tuscany, Parma, Rome, and Naples were left to their old governments and monarchic institutions; but, except Naples, they were all in complete subjection to France and her liege vassals the new Italian republicans, who never ceased promoting plots and conspiracies against the said established governments. From these manœuvres Naples itself was certainly not exempted.

Numerous turmoils, conspiracies, and changes had taken place in Paris. In 1796 the Montagnards and Jacobins made a terrible effort to recover the power they had lost; but their deep conspiracy was detected at the moment it was about to break out by the vigilant directors, who had organised a very complete system of espionage and treachery; and Gracchus Babœuf, betrayed by one Grisel, a brother conspirator, was arrested by night, and all his papers, containing every particular of the plot, were found and seized. Forthwith all the chiefs of the conspiracy, as Vadier, Amar, Choudieu, Drouet (the hero of Varennes), Rosignol (whose name in the Vendée was "Devil"), Ricord, and a great many others, were captured. There was an attempt made to liberate them and arrest the directors; but it failed, and Gracchus Babœuf and Darthé were condemned to death, the rest to deportation. On hearing their sentence, Babœuf and Darthé stabbed themselves with concealed daggers; but, not doing the thing effectually, they were both carried to the scaffold in a half-dead state, and guillotined. These men were about the last of the honest fanatics of the revolution, and they left behind them few or none but selfish time-servers, or men prepared by want of principle, or want of courage, to conform to the course of events, be it what it might, and to submit to that military despotism which was already forging for France. Before the trial and execution of Babœuf, which did not take place till March, 1797, the royalists in their turn began to conspire against the Directory and the so-called republic.

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Two or three men, said to be secret emissaries of Monsieur, or Louis XVIII., were apprehended in January, and accused of attempting to seduce the soldiers in the camp at Grenelle. In the month of March, when the elections came on for one-third of the legislature, some of the ancient noblesse were returned; and these decided royalists soon formed a powerful coalition, in direct opposition to the Directory. In May, they were even strong enough to get General Pichegru elected president of the Council of Five Hundred, and Barbé-Marbois president of the Council of Ancients. If Pichegru was not a royalist before, the depriving him of his high command in the army had made him one now: Barbé-Marbois was a warm and honest constitutional royalist. In the same month when, in conformity with Siéyes's last constitution, one of the directors went out, Barthelemy the diplomatist, who was also by this time suspected of royalism, was brought in to fill up the vacancy. Loud outcries were raised against the extravagance, corruption, and profligacy of the directional government; the full liberty of the press, so often promised, was demanded by the royalists; peace—peace, even with England—was recommended; some of the severest of the decrees against the emigrants and non-juring priests were actually revoked, and the coalition were evidently making considerable progress, when Director Barras secured the services of the astucious Talleyrand by making him minister for foreign affairs, and then appealed to General Bonaparte and the victorious army of Italy. Bonaparte, hereupon, dispatched Augereau, one of the most devoted and most daring of his satellites, to Paris, with terrible addresses from the army of Italy, which were evidently Bonaparte's own compositions. "Tremble," said one of these significant addresses, "tremble, royalists! From the Adige to the Seine is but a step—tremble!" Besides sending army addresses, Bonaparte sent a few more millions of livres.

To overawe the two councils, numerous detachments of troops were marched into Paris. Everything announced that a coup d'état or another revolution was at hand. Carnot hated royalty and royalists; but he hated three

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of his colleagues in the Directory—Barras, Rewbell, and La Réveillère Lepeaux—quite as much; he was enraged too at the tone of "that little Corsican," and, though he did not league himself with his new brother director Barthelemy, or with the coalition in the legislature, he refused to co-operate in the energetic measures proposed by Barras and Rewbell. Therefore it was they determined that Carnot, that rabid republican, should be treated even as a royalist, and classed with Barthelemy in the *Dies Iræ*. The legislature, on the motion of Pichegru, decreed the immediate arming of the national guards, and the removal of the regular troops which had been brought into the capital or stationed around it. But Pichegru hesitated; others were all for acting according to law or the new constitution; and, while they were thus deliberating, Bonaparte's own Augereau took the command of the troops of the line in and round Paris, put some more grape and canister into their guns, and with 12,000 men, and forty pieces of artillery, surrounded the Tuileries, and stepped in to execute the order of the triumvirate—Barras, Rewbell, and La Réveillère—and arrest all their enemies. Pichegru, Willot, General Ramel, and about sixty other members of the legislature, were instantly arrested and transferred from the Tuileries to the Temple, charged with high treason. The triumvirate had also proscribed Carnot and Barthelemy; the first of these personages concealed himself, and afterwards escaped, but Barthelemy remained to be condemned and deported, or transported with his party. Fortunately, the Parisians had become sick of blood, and "deportation" was all the mode. The proprietors, editors, and writers of forty-two journals (collectively an immense number) were also condemned to deportation to French Guiana. It was laid down as good, free, republican law, that for the future the Directory should have the power of suppressing whatsoever journals, or newspapers, pamphlets, and books, it might think fit.

Some cargoes of the deported were shipped off for the pestiferous settlement in South America; but a good many of them remained on the French coast, in

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prison or under strict police surveillance in the Isle of Rhé.

Merlin de Douai, a timid, submissive lawyer, and François de Neufchâteau, a man of letters, a writer of republican odes, and as servile as Merlin, were put into the Directory to fill up the places left vacant by Barthelemy and Carnot. Such was the revolution or coup d'état of the 18th Fructidor.

The British parliament reassembled on the 2nd of November. The speech from the throne dwelt on the excessive pretensions of the French; the failure of the negotiations at Lisle, the flourishing state of trade and the revenue, our naval victories and our new conquests in the West Indies; and it once more recommended those vigorous exertions which alone could make peace attainable. As Fox and other great orators of the opposition continued in their secession (as if to encourage the enemy by showing what a divided people we were), there was little interest in the very slight opposition offered to the addresses, or in any of the debates which followed during the session. The army and navy estimates were smoothly passed, and, as a beginning, supplies were voted to the amount of 25,500,000*l.* Among the ways and means adopted was the trebling of all the assessed taxes.

A.D. 1798.—At the end of April, when the sword of rebellion was all but drawn in Ireland, the minister demanded further supplies to the amount of more than 3,000,000*l.* The money was voted with little opposition, as was a new increase of taxes to meet it. As the storm thickened in the West, as the Irish were flying to arms in all parts of the country, and as the French were not merely preparing to co-operate with them in the heart of that island, but also threatening to invade England with 100,000 men, a bill was readily passed for allowing men in the supplemental militia to enlist into the regular army; and another bill soon followed to enable his majesty to provide more effectually for the security and defence of the realm, and to indemnify persons who might suffer in their property by such measures as it might be thought necessary to adopt. The Alien Bill was re-

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vived, and the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act was renewed or prolonged.

Discussions on the state of Ireland were stopped by ministers and their majorities, as being only dangerous at so critical a moment. On the 29th of June the king prorogued parliament, with a good, manly, English-sounding speech, in which honourable testimony was borne to the public spirit of the nation.

Not less through the faults of the governed than through the faults of the governors, Ireland had never enjoyed any continuance of tranquillity, not merely since the Reformation, which introduced the capital, embittering difference of religion, but not even since its first connexion with England in the 12th century. Since the period of the American war, when the Irish volunteers were allowed to arm themselves, the turbulence had greatly increased.

Generally speaking, the period from 1778 down to 1798 had been one of concession to the Irish Catholics, who formed about seven-tenths of the population. Whilst the American revolutionary war lasted, and for some years after it ceased, the disaffected Irish took their inspiration from the other side of the Atlantic, and in many instances closely imitated the proceedings of the Americans. But, as soon as the eruption of the great volcano commenced in France, they fixed their eyes on that pillar of fire as that which was to lead them through night and darkness, and waves more perilous than those of the Red Sea, to the glorious light of day, and to regions more blessed than the Promised Land. From that moment the French revolutionists became the models of the leaders of the Irish reformers, some of whom, at a very early stage of the revolution in France, contemplated nothing less than a revolution in Ireland, and went over to Paris to be indoctrinated into the modes of making it, and to bargain for the *disinterested* assistance of the French. At the beginning of 1793, or almost immediately after the declaration of war against England, the ruling party in France (then Jacobin Gironde) dispatched a secret agent to Ireland to confer with the

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leaders of the Society of United Irishmen, and to offer them the aid of French arms for the liberation of their country. This emissary brought a letter of introduction to Lord Edward Fitzgerald, who had been dismissed from the English army for having frequented the Jacobin Club at Paris; for having been one, with Thomas Paine, and men of that stamp, at a great public dinner at Paris, where the most revolutionary and Jacobinical speeches were delivered, and the hope expressed that England as well as Ireland would soon be revolutioned *à la Française*. Soon after that unlucky dinner, he became acquainted with Madame de Genlis, and married her Pamela—her own illegitimate daughter by the Duke of Orleans, or Philippe Égalité.

In 1794, when the reign of the Jacobins and of Terror was at its height, another secret emissary came over from France to Ireland. This individual, a subject of the king, an Irishman by birth, and a Protestant clergyman by profession, was the Rev. William Jackson. He conferred with Wolfe Tone, and many others of the Irish revolutionists, and repeated the promises of the French to assist them "in breaking their chains." This Jackson was arrested in Dublin soon after his landing, and was tried and condemned for high treason: but he made no confessions, he left government in the dark as to the extent of the conspiracy, and he escaped a public execution by committing suicide. A stop was put to further concessions; and in Ireland, with at least as much reason as in England, every attempt at reform or change was reprobated. Wolfe Tone, who had fled to America, found at Philadelphia his friend Hamilton Rowan, who had also escaped from justice, a Dr. Reynolds, and other Irish patriots who had made their own country too hot for them. Hamilton Rowan (formerly the friend and guide of Muir) introduced Wolfe Tone to citizen Adet, the minister or ambassador of the French to the American republic; and a negotiation for invading Ireland by a French army was opened forthwith. Tone himself tells us that he consulted at every step with Dr. Reynolds, Hamilton Rowan, and James Napper Tandy; that, being

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at length supplied with some money by Keogh, Russell, and other United Irishmen in Ireland, and furnished with a letter to the committee of *Salut Public* by citizen Adet, he sailed for France to conclude his treaty there. He arrived at Hâvre-de-Grace on the 1st of February, 1796, and found that the French "are a humane people, when they are not mad," and that he liked them, "with all their faults, and the guillotine at the head of them, a thousand times better than the English."* On arriving at Paris he was received by Carnot, and by General Clarke, then a sort of secretary-at-war, and afterwards the notorious Duke de Feltre, who told him that General Hoche should sail for Ireland with an irresistible army as soon as the Directory could raise money to hire and equip transports.

The Directory expressed an anxiety to see some agent or agents from the United Irishmen of a more exalted condition and of better known name and character. Lord Edward Fitzgerald, brother to the then Duke of Leinster, and Mr. Arthur O'Connor, nephew of Lord Longueville, and said to be lineally descended from Roderick O'Connor, king of Connaught, readily accepted the mission at the request of the chiefs of the United Irishmen. They left Dublin at the end of May, 1796, Lord Edward being accompanied by his French wife. They took London in their way; and during their short stay in that city Lord Edward dined at the house of an opposition peer, in company with Fox, Sheridan, and several other distinguished Whigs of the Fox party, to whom he is supposed to have revealed the object of his mission to the continent. From London the secret negotiators proceeded to Hamburg, where they began to treat with a French agent; and from Hamburg they went to Basle, and through Barthelemy negotiated with the Directory. They were informed that an army for Ireland would soon be ready, and that Hoche would have the command of it. After a month's stay at Basle, O'Connor went into France to confer with Hoche, and

* Wolfe Tone's own Diary, published by his son.

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to finish the negotiation; and Lord Edward returned to Hamburg, talking on the road with his chance fellow-travellers in what appears to have been the most rash and puerile style. Hoche, having full powers from the Directory, very soon concluded the treaty with O'Connor, and pledged himself that the expedition should sail in the course of the autumn. Lord Edward and O'Connor soon returned to Ireland; but Tone remained to come over militarily with Hoche and the French army. The fate of the expedition has been already narrated. Wolfe Tone went with it to Bantry Bay, running two narrow and terrible chances—the one of being taken and hanged, the other of being shipwrecked and drowned. He, however, got back safely to France, spent some months at the head-quarters of the army of the Sambre and Meuse, employing himself principally in attempts to corrupt the British soldiers and sailors that were prisoners of war in France, with a view of embarking them with the next invading army; for neither abroad nor at home in Ireland was the notion given up of another invasion. The winds of heaven had scattered the late armament, but another might be more successful. In the course of the spring of 1797, the chiefs of the United Irishmen, thinking it expedient to have a resident ambassador at Paris, dispatched thither a Mr. E. J. Servines, with powers to act as their accredited minister, and with instructions to negotiate, *if possible*, a loan of half a million sterling. In the course of the summer "the Irish *Executive*" sent over Dr. Mac Neven on a special mission, which was to urge the Directory to hasten their preparations. The Directory, who were then on the point of sending an ambassador to Lisle to meet Lord Malmesbury, and delude the English with a feigned negotiation for peace, told the doctor that they would soon be ready, and that the Batavian republic would have the honour of taking the lead in the invasion of Ireland with the fleet collected in the Texel. But that fleet, which could not get ready or would not venture out to sea until the month of October, was annihilated, as we have seen, off Camperdown. In the month of February of this present year, 1798,

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a most pressing letter was addressed by the so-called Irish executive to the French Directory, urging them to send immediate succour, and stating that the people of all classes throughout Ireland then regimented, and partly armed, amounted to little less than 300,000 men. Talleyrand positively assured their agent at Paris that an expedition was getting ready in the French ports, which should certainly sail in the month of April. On the 28th of February, Lord Edward Fitzgerald's friend, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, Quigley or O'Coigley, an Irish priest, and Binns, an active member of the London Corresponding Society, were arrested at Margate, as they were on the point of embarking for France. A paper was found on the priest, addressed to the French Directory, and earnestly inviting an invasion of *England*, which, it was calculated, would prevent our sending troops into Ireland. This paper, and the trial which followed, put government in possession of many important secrets; but a great deal had been unravelled before this time. Quigley, the priest, who died protesting his innocence of treason, and who really appears to have been less deeply engaged in the conspiracy than any of them, was found guilty, and was executed on Pennenden Heath; O'Connor was remanded on another charge of high treason, and Binns was acquitted. Some arrests were forthwith ordered at Dublin, and some more papers were found in a printing-office—the office where O'Connor had been publishing a revolutionary journal, called "The Press." But much completer revelations were now about to be made, by one of the chief revolutionists. Several obscurer members of the Association of United Irishmen had played false before; but the great secrets of the society were not intrusted to such as those; and the government was anxiously looking for some higher and more fully informed traitor to that cause, when a Mr. Thomas Reynolds, who had *Esquire* written after his name, and who lived in what was called a *castle*, who had been deep in all the plots and intimate with most of the leading plotters, who was the nominal treasurer of a county and the appointed colonel for a regiment of the

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insurgent army, pretending that the United Irishmen were going much farther than he, in his innocence, had ever anticipated, and that his love of the constitution and the integrity of the empire induced him to betray his friends, but in reality being hard driven by debt, and filled with the hope of an immense reward, divulged all that he knew to a friend of government, and undertook to render further services to enable or assist the government to counteract the whole plan. A warrant from the secretary of state's office was forthwith placed in the hands of Major Swan, a magistrate for the county of Dublin, who, on the 12th of March, repaired to the house of Mr. Oliver Bond (a merchant, and one of the principal conspirators), where there was to be a great meeting, attended by thirteen sergeants in plain clothes, and by means of the pass-words—"Where's Mac Cann? Is Ivers from Carlow come?" obtained admission to the meeting, and arrested all such persons as were there assembled. Dr. Mac Nevin, who had been on the special commission to Paris, Emmet, Sampson (both barristers), and Lord Edward Fitzgerald, were not at the meeting; but separate warrants being issued against them, Mac Nevin and Emmet were soon apprehended: Sampson fled to England, was seized at Carlisle, and brought back to Dublin, but Lord Edward Fitzgerald concealed himself in Dublin and the neighbourhood, and was not discovered till the 19th of May. It appears that, on the part of government at least, the search after him had not been very active, and that, on account of his noble family and his numerous friends, his escape would gladly have been connived at. But seemingly he never contemplated escaping, but employed himself all the time he was under hiding, in arranging how the insurgents were to rise and march upon Dublin. He had fixed the 23rd of May for the general rising. On being surprised, lying on a bed in the house of one Murphy, on the evening of the 19th, he behaved more like a madman than a hero, savagely shedding blood without the slightest hope of fighting his way out, for the house was surrounded by piquets, and a numerous and steady garrison were under arms in the

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streets of Dublin. When Major Swan entered the garret and showed his warrant, he sprang up like a tiger. Swan, to stop his attack, fired a pocket-pistol at him, but without effect. A soldier now entered, and at that instant Lord Edward ran at Swan with a dagger which had been concealed in his bed. Mr. Ryan, a magistrate, next entered, armed only with a sword-cane, and presently received a mortal wound from Lord Edward's dagger. Major Sirr, the active town-major who had been setting the piquets, next rushed into the room, where he found Lord Edward, a very tall and powerful man, struggling between Swan and Ryan, Ryan being on the ground weltering in his blood, but still clinging, like Swan, who was also bleeding and wounded in several places, to his adversary. Major Sirr, threatened by the bloody dagger, took a deliberate aim, and lodged the contents of a pistol in Lord Edward's right shoulder. A number of soldiers followed Sirr up stairs, and, after a maniacal struggle, Lord Edward was disarmed and bound, carried to the castle, and thence to Newgate. Ryan died of his wounds, on the 23rd of May; Lord Edward died of his wounds, or fever brought on by them and his anxiety of mind, on the 5th of June; Swan recovered from the frightful gashes he had received.

In spite of the fall of Lord Edward, who was to have been their commander-in-chief, and in spite of the flight or arrest of every member of the Directory or executive, the Irish flew to arms in various places on the appointed 23rd of May. On the 24th they made an abortive attempt on Naas, Carlow, and some other towns. But on the 25th an army of 14,000 or more, pikemen, headed by a Father John Murphy, marched to Wexford, defeated part of the garrison that sallied out to meet them, killed all the prisoners they took, and terrified the town of Wexford into a surrender on the 30th. Encouraged by these and other trifling advantages, the rebels made a rush at New Ross, took part of the town, began to plunder and drink, got for the most part very drunk, and were then driven back by General Johnson, leaving 2600 of their number behind them in killed, wounded, and dead drunk. At the news of

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this success of the king's troops at New Ross, a body of the insurgents stationed at Scullabogue, massacred in cold blood more than a hundred Protestants they had taken prisoners. These and similar atrocities prevented the Presbyterians of the North from rising, and gave to the insurrection the old character of a Popish rebellion and massacre. But the best of the Catholics presently came forward to express their abhorrence of the whole rising, and to offer their assistance to government in suppressing it. After a few other fights or skirmishes, General Lake attacked, on the 21st of June, the fortified position at Vinegar Hill, carried it with a frightful loss to the insurgents, who never rallied again, and then retook Wexford and Enniscorthy. Lord Camden was now recalled from the Lieutenancy of Ireland, and succeeded by Lord Cornwallis, who brought with him a general pardon (with a very few exceptions) to all who submitted. Of the leading conspirators who had been taken, only four—Mac Cann, Byrn, and two brothers of the name of Sheares, the sons of a banker at Cork—were executed. Bond was condemned to die; but his life was spared on condition of disclosing all he knew respecting the rebellion—a condition he accepted, with the proviso that his information should not affect the lives of his fellow-prisoners. Arthur O'Connor, Mac Nevin, Emmet, Sampson, and the rest, were merely banished. In the month of August, when the flames of rebellion seemed completely extinguished, three French frigates, eluding the vigilance of our fleets, reached Killala, and threw on shore 900 troops of the line, commanded by General Humbert. A small number of the Catholic peasantry of the country joined him, and Humbert proceeded rapidly to Castlebar. There he encountered General Lake, with a force superior in number, but consisting chiefly of Protestant yeomanry and militia. Lake was beaten, and in his retreat lost six guns.

From Castlebar Humbert marched eastward into the very heart of the country, expecting to be joined by all the men of Connaught, if not by all the Papists of the island, but finding, wherever he advanced, that the mass

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of the people shunned him and his soldiers as though they had brought the plague with them. About seventeen days after his first landing, Humbert was beaten by the advanced guard of Lord Cornwallis, who was marching against him with troops of the line; and on the 8th of September, being entirely surrounded, the French laid down their arms and became prisoners of war. To keep up the ferment and suspicion, and to oblige England to maintain a large force in Ireland, the French, within a month after the surrender of Humbert, ordered a squadron of one ship of the line and eight frigates, with troops, arms, and ammunition on board, to choose a favourable moment for getting to sea, and then to proceed to Ireland at all hazards. This armament actually reached the western coast of Ireland; but Sir John Borlase Warren, with his squadron, met it there, and gave a very good account of it, capturing the ship of the line and three of the frigates.* On board the French ship of the line was seized Wolfe Tone, who had not improved his very lax morality during his residence at Paris, and whose deeds, words, and writings had placed him beyond the liberally extended verge of mercy. On his trial, he pleaded his commission of a brigadier-general in the French army as a bar to punishment for all treasons, present or past; but he was condemned to die the death of a traitor; and, finding that the sentence really meant hanging, he cut his throat in Dublin gaol to escape the ignominy of the gallows.

In the month of May, while Parliament was sitting, a spirited attempt was made to interrupt the preparations for invasion on the coast of Belgium, and to destroy the sluices, gates, and basin of the Bruges canal at Ostend. Captain Home Popham, with a small squadron having on board a body of troops commanded by Colonel Coote, sailed from Margate Roads, bombarded Ostend, and landed about 1000 men at a short distance from that town. The soldiers blew up the sluices, destroyed a good many vessels, and did all the work they were sent

* Eventually three more of the frigates were taken.

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to do in very quick time; but on returning to the beach to re-embark, they were prevented by the fury of the wind and surf; and, being next day hemmed in by an immense force, Coote found himself under the necessity of surrendering, after he had lost about one man in every ten.

An expedition to Minorca was more successful, and gave us possession of an excellent port, which our Mediterranean fleet much needed. In the autumn Admiral Duckworth's squadron landed in Addaya Bay, in the island of Minorca, a land force of about 800 men, commanded by General Sir Charles Stuart. Assisted by a hot fire kept up by Duckworth's smaller craft alongshore, Stuart defeated about 2000 Spaniards, drove them from post to post, attacked them in some intrenchments, and easily compelled the governor to surrender the whole of the island by capitulation.

In the West Indies orders were received from ministers to abandon that large portion of St. Domingo which we had reduced at the invitation and with the aid of the French planters, but which we could not retain without a constant, terrible sacrifice of human life. General Maitland entered into a compromise with Toussaint l'Ouverture, formerly a slave, but now chief of the revolted negroes and the founder of a sort of negro republic, who engaged to respect the lives and properties of all the European and Creole planters and inhabitants that might choose to remain. In the month of May all that were left alive of our troops were withdrawn; and towards the end of the year some French troops, who had maintained their ground in some strong places, shipped themselves off, and left Toussaint in undisturbed possession of the best part of St. Domingo.

The fate of Switzerland was decided in the spring of this year. The unprovoked aggression of the French was hardly more infamous than the means they employed. They began by complaining of the permitted residence of Mr. Wickham, the English envoy, and they next demanded his expulsion. To remove this ground of quarrel Mr. Wickham was recalled by his own govern-

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ment. The Directory then ordered the French troops to take possession of Basle, and almost as soon as this was done, they sent a strong division under General Menard into the Pays de Vaud, a dependency of the aristocratic canton of Berne. Menard was received as a liberator by all the democrats and sans-culottes among the Vaudois, who, like all the French-speaking portion of the Swiss, had been stirred up by French propagandists and French books. These people had some reasons to complain of the pride and oppression of their Bernese rulers; but, to get rid of these minor evils, they threw themselves and the whole of Switzerland at the feet of the Gallic republic. Aided and assisted by these unworthy half-Swiss, the French republicans proceeded to subdue, slaughter, or scatter the thorough German-speaking Swiss, who mustered some 26,000 troops, but chiefly militia. The French army under Brune consisted of 45,000 disciplined, practised troops; and reinforcements were sent to him from time to time. On the 5th of March the Swiss fell upon Brune, who was advancing to Berne, defeated him with terrible loss, and drove him back for several miles on the road to Freyburg. But the odds were too great, the country was too much disorganised: the brave General d'Erlach, who commanded a part of the Swiss army, was defeated at another point, and was afterwards murdered on the road by some infuriated Swiss soldiers and peasants, who had been artfully led by the French to believe that they had been betrayed by their own commander. On the 6th of March Brune in greater force repeated his attack, and a wavering on the part of the Swiss troops was followed by a most sanguinary defeat. More than a hundred officers—the pride of the Bernese nobles—were killed on that dreadful day. After this victory Brune, unopposed, entered the city of the Fighting Bear—that bear "that once gave fearful strokes with his paws."* The treasure, the well-stored arsenal, and nearly all the property, private as well as

* The Gugler's Song, or the Song of Victory of the Bernese, written in 1376.

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public, were seized by the conquerors. The plunder was soon extended over all parts of Switzerland, and the brave mountaineers who attempted to defend their homes were massacred as traitors or rebels. The liberty for which William Tell had fought and bled was now annihilated by these new Gallic republicans, who had professed to give liberty and equality, and an augmented happiness to all mankind!

The Swiss were not the only people in Europe that felt the hollowness and bitterness of the friendship of the French, and the implacability of their hatred, during this eventful year. The Belgians were so harassed by military conscriptions, that they broke out into insurrections in five departments—insurrections which added the loss of blood and life to that of money and goods. In Italy the people of the so-called Cisalpine Republic were made to sigh and groan for the blessings they had enjoyed under their old governments. Rome was made the seat of anarchy and woe. In order to raise the money required from it by the treaty of Tolentino, the papal government was obliged to drain the pockets of its subjects. This created violent discontents, which were fermented by a strong French or revolutionary party, who recommended, as a proper remedy for every evil, the destruction or expulsion of the old pope with all his hierarchy, and the setting up of a *Roman Republic* under the immediate *protection of the French*. The family of the fortunate Corsican general had risen as he rose; his elder brother, Joseph Bonaparte, was no longer in the commissariat, but in the diplomatic department, being at this time ambassador at Rome, with instructions to change the state of that government without appearing to take any active part with its disaffected subjects. Joseph, who loved his ease, and respected the ease and comfort of others, had no zeal to co-operate with the Roman reformers and demagogues. To excite him to more activity, or in order that they might act for him, the five kings at the Luxembourg sent to Joseph two fiery republican generals: one was General Duphot, who had had the chief management of the overthrow and change

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of the ancient republic of Genoa; the other was General Sherlock, who descended from an Irish family, and who testified an earnest desire to date the era of the new world, not from the birth of Christ, but from the birth of the French republic. As soon as these two men arrived, the Roman democrats became uncommonly bold and turbulent. They insulted the pope's guards, and even the pope himself when he showed himself in public. This roused the common people, the true sans-culottes of Rome, who had no French political sans-culottism about them, but who were devout, superstitious, attached enthusiastically to their pontiff and their priests. On the 28th of December (1797) after the Roman democrats had hoisted the tricolor flag, and shouted "Down with the pope, and up with the Roman republic!" an encounter took place, in which Duphot was mortally wounded by a shot from a carbine. Several of the democrats were killed in the same way, and a greater number wounded. As soon as he was able, Joseph Bonaparte, with his suite, fled to Florence, calling the poor old pope the assassin of Duphot. The Directory, who had long wanted some such occasion, sent orders to General Berthier to march instantly to Rome with a large body of troops. With nothing to oppose them, the French and 4000 Poles, under Dombrowski, advanced into the States of the Church; Loretto, with its holy house, was sacked; Asimo was plundered and burned; and on the 10th of February, Berthier drew up his forces on the Roman hills, and planted his guns as if to bombard the city. The terrified cardinals who formed the government signed a capitulation, in which they gave up the castle of St. Angelo, and nearly everything else. On the same day the pope's garrison was turned out of the castle, and the French entered it; and Cervoni, the Corsican, took possession of all the principal posts in the city. On the morrow, Berthier made his triumphal entrance into the capital of the ancient world. Four days after,—the 15th of February, and the anniversary of the day on which the reigning pontiff, Pius VI., who had now reigned for twenty-three years, had first put on the triple crown—

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the democrats of Rome assembled in the Campo Vaccino, the ancient Forum, erected a tree of liberty with the tricolor and the red nightcap at the top of it, renounced for ever the government of priests, aristocrats, or kings, and proclaimed that, by the will of the Roman people, the ancient republican form of government was restored. A wretched constitution, badly translated into Italian from the French, was presented next day to Berthier for his approval, without which they knew full well the thing could not live for an hour. The French general gave his approbation, but only conditionally. When these farces were played out, the spoliation and the robbery commenced. As a beginning, immense contributions were demanded, and as security for the prompt payment of them, four cardinals and a number of the principal lay nobles were seized and thrown into the castle of St. Angelo. Berthier, having some delicacy of feeling, some respect for venerable age and fallen dignity, which made him shrink from the task himself, sent the Corsican general, Cervoni, to the Vatican to tell Pius VI., in the name of the French republic, that he must recognise the new Roman republic, lay down his temporal authority, and quit his palace. A commissioner or commissary of the Directory, who had come to look after the plunder, finished what Cervoni had begun, by telling Pius that by will or by force he must leave Rome within forty-eight hours. The aged pontiff replied that he could not resist violence, but that his people would see and remember that he was torn from them by force. On the 20th of February he was seized in the Vatican, and put into a coach with two or three faithful ministers; and, escorted by a regiment of French cavalry, he was whirled rapidly out of Rome and along the northern road which leads to Tuscany.

Shortly after these troubles at Rome, popular insurrections, fomented by the French and the democrats of Genoa, or the new Ligurian republic, broke out in Piedmont; and the new king of Sardinia was compelled to admit a French garrison into Turin, and all the citadels which he had hitherto retained. Thus that fine country

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became virtually a province of France. Bonaparte, after a rapid inspection of the French coasts and of the so-called "Army of England" stationed near them, had returned to Paris to undertake the command of another army destined for no less an object than the conquest of Egypt, which country, it was calculated, would not merely supply to France the loss of her West Indian colonies, but also enable her first to annoy, and afterwards to invade the British possessions and dependencies in the East Indies.

Bonaparte's fame as the conqueror of Italy, or rather of the Austrians in Italy, was an additional inducement; and 30,000 men, chiefly from the army of Italy, assembled with wonderful enthusiasm at Toulon, to sail, whenever the opportunity should offer, for Alexandria and the mouths of the Nile. The secret of the expedition was well kept from the enemies of the republic; a continuance of violent winds drove the English blockading fleet from those waters; and on the night of the 19th of May, Bonaparte, with a vast fleet of men-of-war and transports, put to sea and sailed up the Mediterranean. On the 9th of June the fleet arrived before Malta, the capture of which important island was included in the plan adopted by the Directory. The knights of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, who had held Malta ever since the days of the emperor Charles V., had not acknowledged the French republic; but not a few of those noble knights entertained French notions or had sold themselves to French interests. Hompesch, the grand master, a weak old man, was bullied and terrified by these traitors; and, instead of manning the works of La Valetta, which might have defied the whole French fleet and army for months—whereas every moment was precious to them, and full of apprehension, for they knew that the British fleet would soon be after them—he returned a miserable answer to Bonaparte's summons to surrender, and actually capitulated on the 11th, the date fixed by the republican general. After plundering the churches and the alberghi and other establishments of the order, and thereby collecting no inconsiderable quantity of gold and silver,

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Bonaparte re-embarked on the 19th for Egypt, leaving General Vaubois and a garrison to take care of Malta. As the French fleet sailed by the island of Candia, it passed near the English fleet, but without being seen by it; for a thick haze favoured the invaders, and prevented their utter annihilation, with the destruction or captivity of all the troops, and of Bonaparte himself, by Nelson. On the 29th of June the French came in sight of Alexandria; and on the following day the troops landed within three miles of that city, without any opposition, but with such haste and confusion, produced by the dread lest Nelson should be upon them, that a considerable number were drowned. The town of Alexandria was easily taken. From its ancient walls Bonaparte issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of Egypt, telling them that he came as the friend of the Sultan, to deliver them from the oppression of the Mamelukes, and that he and his soldiers had a particular respect for God, the prophet Mahomet, and the Koran. On the 7th of July he moved from Alexandria to Cairo, marching over burning sands, where the French troops suffered greatly and murmured not a little. On the 21st, on arriving in sight of the great pyramids, they saw the whole Mameluke force, under Murad Bey and Ibrahim Bey, drawn up at Embabeh. Battle was joined almost immediately. The "Battle of the Pyramids," as the affair was called by the French, was easily won: such of the Mamelukes as escaped destruction retreated towards Upper Egypt; and two days after Bonaparte entered Cairo without resistance. Here he assembled a divan, or council of the principal Turks and Arab chiefs, to whom he promised the civil administration of the country. While he was thus engaged at Cairo, Nelson disturbed his visions by destroying the fleet which he had left near Alexandria. The British hero had returned up the Mediterranean without any instructions from his government, and without any certain knowledge of the French expedition. He was unfortunately without frigates to scour that sea, and he was thus, as it were, compelled to grope his way in the dark. The first news he got of Bonaparte's

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movements was that he had surprised Malta. Instantly he bore away for that island; but some days before he could reach it the French were gone, and he could find no one to tell him whither. Making, however, a shrewd guess, he sailed for the mouth of the Nile, and arrived off Alexandria on the 28th of June. But no French fleet was there, and although it was so near at hand, he could learn nothing of its whereabout. He then shaped his course to the northward for the coast of Caramania, and then steered from thence along the southern side of Candia. It was here he so nearly touched the objects he was seeking. Baffled in his pursuit, he crossed the Mediterranean, and returned to Sicily. He had sailed six hundred leagues with an expedition almost incredible; his flag-ship the old 'Vanguard' was nearly strained to pieces; but as soon as he could re-victual and take in fresh water he turned his prow again towards Egypt. On the 28th of July he entered the Gulf of Coron in the Morea; and there for the first time he received certain intelligence that the French had been seen about four weeks before steering between Candia and the coast of Egypt. Then, setting every sail that his ships could possibly carry, he stood over once more for the mouths of the Nile, grieving for the time which had been lost, and wishing it had only been his fate to have tried Bonaparte upon a wind.

The British fleet, consisting of thirteen 74's, one 50-gun ship, and a brig of 14 guns, at about ten in the morning of the 1st of August, again got sight of Alexandria and its harbours, now crowded with ships. At four in the afternoon, Captain Hood, in the 'Zealous,' signalised the enemy's fleet at anchor in Aboukir Bay. Nelson, who had scarcely taken rest or food for some days, ordered dinner to be served. At half-past five signal was made to form in line of battle, abreast and astern of the admiral. At a little before six they were rapidly approaching the enemy, whose force comprised one ship of 120 guns, three of 80, and nine of 74, moored in compact line of battle, describing an obtuse angle, close in with the shore, flanked by gun-boats, four frigates,

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and a battery of guns and mortars on an island in their van. Nelson no sooner perceived the enemy's position than his plan of attack was formed. Where an enemy's ship could swing, there was room for a British one to anchor; and he therefore determined to station his ships on the inner side of the French line. At about twenty minutes past six the French opened their fire on the two leading British ships. The guns on Aboukir Island also fired at the ships as they rounded the shoal, but ceased as the ships became closely engaged, to avoid striking the French van. The 'Culloden,' 74, Captain Trowbridge, unfortunately grounded on a ledge of rocks, and could take no part in the action. The 'Vanguard,' Nelson's flag-ship, with six ensigns flying in different parts of the rigging, lest any should be shot away, was the first that anchored, within half pistol-shot of the 'Spartiate,' the third ship in the enemy's line. By seven o'clock eight of the British fleet had anchored, and were in close action with the enemy. At half-past nine, or thereabouts, five of the French van had surrendered; the 'Orient' was in flames, and at about ten o'clock blew up with a tremendous explosion. Nelson had received a severe wound in the head; but in the confusion, to the astonishment of every one, he appeared on the quarter-deck, and immediately gave orders that the boats should be sent to the relief of the enemy; and many of the 'Orient's' crew were saved by our boats, or dragged into the lower ports of British ships by British sailors. The brave French admiral, Brueys, was dead. Among the many hundreds who perished was the Commodore Casa Bianca and his son, a brave boy, only ten years old. They were seen floating on a shattered mast when the ship blew up. The dreadful shock stayed the fury of battle: for full ten minutes not a gun was fired on either side. The French ship 'Franklin' was the first to recommence, but was soon silenced, and struck her colours. At midnight the only French ship whose guns continued in active play was the 'Tonnant;' but, her masts being shot away, she ceased firing, and, by veering cable, took up a station in the rear, and another interval

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of silence ensued. As the day broke the battle recommenced between four of the French ships and two of the English, soon assisted by two others. The French frigate 'Artemise' fired a broadside, and then struck her colours, and soon afterwards blew up. The four French line-of-battle ships, and two frigates, kept dropping to leeward, and were almost out of gun-shot of the British that had anchored to attack them. Two of these ships ran themselves on shore; and, after an exchange of a few distant shots, struck their colours. The others got under weigh, and escaped—only one of our fleet, the 'Zealous,' being in a condition to make sail after them.* Of the thirteen French ships of the line eight had surrendered, one had perished, two had escaped, and two were on shore with their colours flying, one of which soon after struck, and was taken possession of, and the other was set fire to by the crew, who escaped on shore —making eleven line-of-battle ships lost to the French.

The British loss, in killed and wounded, was 895; Westcott, of the 'Majestic,' was the only captain who fell: 3105 of the French, including the wounded, were sent on shore by cartel; and 5225 perished. The victory was complete. "Victory," said Nelson, "is not a name strong enough for such a scene." He called it a conquest.

The destruction of the French fleet, which was announced far and wide by bonfires kindled by the Arabs along the coast and over the whole land of Egypt, left Bonaparte with only such stores and military materials as he had succeeded in bringing with him, and shut him out from all communication with France.

The Sultan now issued an indignant manifesto, declaring war against France for invading one of his provinces in a time of peace and pretended amity: he called upon the pashas of Syria to collect their forces; and he prepared to send from Constantinople an army

* The two line-of-battle ships, and one of the frigates, were afterwards taken by our squadron in the Mediterranean.

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for the recovery of Egypt. On the 22nd of September the people of Cairo, who had hitherto been quiet, puzzled and bewildered at the French doings, burst out into insurrection, and killed a good many Frenchmen in the streets. The insurrection was put down by a dreadful massacre.

In Europe the victory at Aboukir, or the battle of the Nile as it was called, produced an immediate and an immense effect, reviving in every country the drooping spirits of the anti-Gallican party, and filling England from end to end with transports of joy and triumph. From Egypt Nelson returned to Naples, where he found that King Ferdinand was collecting a numerous army with the view of driving the French from Rome and from Tuscany; that the congress at Rastadt had been virtually broken up; that the emperor was arming, and a new coalition forming against the French, who, by their conduct at Rome, in Switzerland, and in other countries, had broken the conditions of the treaty of Campo Formio. Nelson's achievement, and the absence of Bonaparte, who it was expected would never find his way back to Europe, were the two grand circumstances of encouragement to this new coalition.

In the month of November the island of Gozo, separated from Malta by a narrow channel, capitulated to a detachment of Nelson's squadron. Malta itself was closely blockaded.

The British parliament assembled on the 20th of November. The speech from the throne congratulated the country on the hopes of new alliances, by which it might be anticipated that the common enemy of nations would be humbled and repressed. This alluded more particularly to Russia. The Czarina Catherine had died of apoplexy in November, 1796, and had been succeeded by her son Paul. At first anxious doubts had been entertained whether, as usual in despotic countries, the successor would not pursue a line of foreign policy directly opposite to that of his predecessor. It was known that tempting overtures had been made to him by the French; and Bonaparte's invasion of Egypt, by embarrassing the

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Sultan, and obliging him to send an army down the Archipelago, would probably leave the frontiers of European Turkey in a weakened state, and even possibly lay open the road to the Balkan pass and to Constantinople, the grand object of Russian ambition. But Paul had now engaged to respect existing treaties, had contracted a close alliance with Great Britain, and had engaged to take an active part in the war against the conquering republic, upon condition of receiving from Great Britain 112,000*l.* per month, during a campaign of eight months, for the pay of troops.

The estimated supplies for the ensuing year were put at 29,272,000*l.*; and Pitt presented a new plan for raising a considerable part of them by an INCOME TAX.

A.D. 1799.—The regular army was slightly increased; 120,000 men, including marines, &c., were voted for the navy; the volunteers and yeomanry cavalry had risen from 5000 to 30,000 men; and the militia, a portion of which had done good service in Ireland, was now about 85,000 strong.

A plan for uniting Ireland under one legislature with Great Britain, as Scotland, to her inestimable advantage, had been united to England nearly a century ago, had been discussed and seriously entertained before the breaking out of the late unhappy rebellion; but that event had made the necessity of such a union more apparent. On the 22nd of January a royal message to both Houses recommended the consideration of the most effectual means to defeat the design of our enemies to promote a separation between the two kingdoms. It was agreed by an immense majority that the question should be considered on the 31st. On that day, Pitt proposed certain resolutions as the basis for the measure; and his motion, that the House should go into committee on these propositions, was carried by 140 against 15. After some long and warm debates, the resolutions, with some some slight amendments, were agreed to, and sent up to the Peers. After equally warm debating in the Upper House, a joint address to the king was agreed to, presenting the resolutions as a proper basis for the union.

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And here, as far as regarded England, the matter rested for the present year. On the 12th of July the king prorogued parliament.

The court of Vienna had formed a close alliance with the Tzar, and in the autumn of the preceding year Russian troops had begun to collect on the frontiers of Austria, while a great army of the German empire was assembling between the rivers Inn and Lech. One great object proposed was to drive the French out of Italy, where, through the folly of King Ferdinand, who had begun too soon, or through the slowness of the Emperor Francis, who had begun too late, they had been allowed to overrun the kingdom of Naples, and to drive that Bourbon court into Sicily. General Mack, who had passed from the Austrian into the Neapolitan service, had miserably conducted a very bad army, and after entering Rome in triumph had been thoroughly beaten by General Championnet. On the 21st of December King Ferdinand and his family embarked in Lord Nelson's flag-ship, and set sail for Palermo. Championnet took possession of Naples on the 23rd of January; royalty was abolished, and the country in Europe least fitted for such institutions was converted into a republic, under the name of REPUBLICA PARTENOPEA.

It was while Naples was thus falling so easy a prey to the French, that her Austrian and Russian allies began collecting on the other side of the Alps. The French negotiators at Rastadt, after demanding from the Emperor of Germany the dismissal of the Russian troops, declared the congress to be dissolved. A republican army forthwith pressed the siege of the fortress of Ehrenbreitstein, which was obliged to capitulate at the end of January. Jourdan then crossed the Rhine once more, and established himself in Suabia. The Directory, however, did not declare war against the Emperor Francis until the month of March, when Jourdan advanced towards the Danube; but again the Archduke Charles met this unlucky republican, and, after defeating or weakening him in several rapidly succeeding engagements, he drove

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Jourdan back over the Rhine in April. Nearly at the same time the Austrian generals Bellegarde and Hatze recovered the Grison country which had been invaded, drove the French from the St. Gothard, and poured into Switzerland, where General Massena occupied a strong position in front of Zurich. In the meanwhile another fine Austrian army had taken the field with old General Melas for its commander. Melas, pouring through the Tyrol towards the end of March, drove all the French outposts before him, entered Upper Italy, cleared all the left bank of the Adige, and obliged Scherer, the unpopular and very inferior general whom the Directory had appointed to the supreme command of their army of Italy, to retire beyond the Mincio in great confusion. Moreau, who had a much higher reputation, took the command, but only to be beaten like Scherer. On the 18th of April, when Melas was driving Moreau before him, the famed Suvaroff came up with some 50,000 Russians, joined the Austrians, and assumed the chief command of both armies. On the 27th of April the battle of Cassano decided the fate of the Cisalpine Republic, the people of which were almost everywhere in open insurrection against the French and the native democrats whom they had set up as a government. The citadels of Brescia and Peschiera surrendered to the allies, Mantua was closely invested, and Suvaroff entered Milan in triumph. Moreau continued his hasty retreat towards Genoa, hoping to be able to guard the barrier of the Apennines, and to be joined there by Macdonald, with the army of Naples, whom he had pressingly summoned to his assistance. Leaving a small garrison in the castle of St. Elmo under the command of Colonel Mejean, and advising the Neapolitan democrats to defend that helpless infant, their three-months-old republic, Macdonald, on the 7th of May, began his rapid march from Naples, got out of the kingdom (not without sustaining considerable loss from some daring royalist partisans), traversed the Roman States and the whole of Tuscany, reached the river Trebia, and, being joined by General Victor, ventured

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to face the Russo-Austrian army. But after fighting for three days on the banks of the Trebia in the neighbourhood of Piacenza, he was crushed by Suvaroff; and, flying thence towards the pass of the Bocchetta, he joined Moreau with what was only a fragment of his army. Before Macdonald's arrival, Moreau had drawn some reinforcements from Nice and Genoa, and had made some intrenchments on the declivities of the Apennines, and in the entrance of the Bocchetta Pass behind the Piedmontese town of Novi. Dissatisfied with Moreau, the Directors now sent Joubert to take the command-in-chief of the army. Joubert stationed himself on the same heights behind Novi which Moreau had occupied, and improved and extended his field-works. But, being attacked in that formidable position by Suvaroff on the 16th of August, Joubert was most thoroughly beaten, and was killed in the action by a cannon-ball; and the miserable wreck of the French army which survived his fall left nearly all their artillery behind them, and fled like sheep over the mountains and through the pass towards the city of Genoa. Shortly after this victory, Suvaroff quitted the Apennines and struck across the Alps to make head against Massena, who had resumed the offensive, and, marching from Zurich, had defeated the Russian corps of General Korsakoff, who had arrived in Switzerland to relieve or co-operate with General Bellegarde and the Austrians. There was some fearful fighting among the precipices and ravines of St. Gothard, which the French had again occupied. Suvaroff swept the republicans back, and opened his way into the heart of Switzerland; but the Austrian general, who had engaged to form a junction with him, was nowhere to be seen; and Korsakoff was too far separated, and too weak, to move to meet him. This obliged Suvaroff to turn aside towards the Lake of Constance and the frontiers of Germany. He was interrupted in his march by Massena; but, fighting and retiring, halting and fighting again, he attained his object, and effected a junction with Korsakoff, though with an army sadly diminished. Leaving the

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French once more absolute masters of Switzerland,* the two Russian generals marched away to Augsburg, where they received orders to lead back all their troops to their own country.

The Neapolitan kingdom was recovered in the course of the months of June and July by Cardinal Ruffo, with an army of wild Calabrians, by a motley force of English, Russians, Portuguese, and Turks, and by Lord Nelson and his squadron. A detachment of Nelson's squadron, under Commodore Trowbridge, blockaded the French garrison in Civita Vecchia, the Pope's seaport town near the mouth of the Tiber. The French soon capitulated, as did also a small garrison which had been left by Championnet in the castle of St. Angelo at Rome. The papal government was reinstated; but to restore the old pope was impossible—Pius VI. was dead. His successor, Pius VII., was named by thirty-five cardinals, assembled at Venice under the protection of the Austrians, but his election was not completed until the month of March, 1800. Long before the close of the year hardly anything was left to the French in Italy except Genoa.

When Suvaroff was carrying everything before him in Italy, and when the French seemed fully occupied by the wars in that country and in Switzerland and Germany, the Emperor Paul sent another Russian force to co-operate with the English in an attack on the French in Holland. It was, however, the month of August before this armament was ready. An army of 30,000 men, of which 17,000 were Russian and the rest British, was collected on the Kentish coast. On the 13th of August Sir Ralph Abercromby, who was intrusted with the first division, consisting of 12,000 troops, embarked in transports and in the squadron of Admiral Mitchel, who was to join the fleet of Admiral (now Lord) Duncan, then cruising in the North Sea. The fort of the Helder was

* The Archduke Charles, when marching against Massena, was obliged to descend the Rhine by a fresh incursion of the French into Germany. He fought several battles with varying success; but, in the end, he once more drove the invaders to the other side of the Rhine.

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immediately abandoned by its garrison; Abercromby landed there; the Texel was occupied by our fleet—the Dutch fleet surrendering or hoisting the Orange flag. General Brune, with a mixed army of French and Dutch, 25,000 strong, attempted to dislodge Abercromby, who was left for a whole month in a very critical situation; but his inferior force stood its ground manfully, and Brune was repulsed with considerable loss. At last, on the 13th of September, another and a stronger division of the Anglo-Russian army arrived, bringing, unfortunately, with it the Duke of York to take the command-in-chief of the whole. From this moment nothing went well; and, after fighting several battles honourable to the troops, but rather disgraceful in point of generalship, his royal highness was fain to conclude a convention (on the 17th of October), by which it was agreed that the English and Russians should be allowed to re-embark without molestation; and that, as the price for that favour, 8000 prisoners of war, French and Batavians, taken before the present campaign, and now detained in England, should be released.

Eight days before this convention or capitulation by the Duke of York, Bonaparte arrived in France. In the month of February he had quitted Cairo with the intention of conquering all Syria. Crossing the desert with 10,000 men, he took Gaza, stormed Jaffa, butchered all the prisoners there in cold blood—by *fusilades*, as practised by the Carriers and the other agents of the Reign of Terror—and carried everything before him, like the Man of Destiny, until he came under the old crumbling walls of Acre. This place, the key of Syria, was defended by the Pasha Djezzar, a very cruel but very resolute old man; by Colonel Philippeaux, an emigrant royalist, and an able officer of engineers, who at one time had been Bonaparte's schoolfellow; and by the brave and alert Sir Sidney Smith, who not merely brought two ships of the line close in-shore to maul the besiegers, but also landed some of his sailors and marines. After spending sixty days before the place, making seven or eight assaults, and losing 3000 men, the French raised

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the siege of Acre; and on the 21st of May they began their retreat, burning everything behind them, harvest and all. On the 14th of June, Bonaparte re-entered Cairo. During his absence, General Desaix, ascending the Nile, had driven the remnant of the Mamelukes from Upper Egypt, and beyond the cataracts of Assouan; but this expedition had no other importance than that of affording the exaggerative French artists, and the *savans* as they were called, the opportunity of visiting the monuments of Thebes, Dendera, and other ancient places. In July, Bonaparte, with nearly his whole army, was called down to the coast—to the point where Nelson had annihilated the French fleet,—for a Turkish army of 18,000 men had landed at Aboukir. On the 25th of July a terrible battle took place on the sandy coast. The Turks fought with admirable courage; but their irregular, undisciplined, unformed masses could not stand long against masses of French that were even in number nearly equal to their own: 10,000 of them perished, by shot, bayonet, or in the sea, where they threw themselves in the hopes of reaching their ships. Soon after this battle of Aboukir, Bonaparte began to make secret preparations for getting back to Europe. If, as some have suspected, one strong inducement which led him to quit France at a critical moment, and embark on this wild Egyptian expedition, had really been to allow the five kings at the Luxembourg time and opportunity to disgust the French people with their profligacy and ineptness, and to prove how essential he was to French victory and conquest by or through the failures of the other republican generals, he had most completely succeeded in his object. Letters from his brothers Joseph and Lucien, and from his numerous friends in Paris, informed him that Italy was lost; that the French armies were being beaten everywhere; that the directors were quarrelling among themselves—were intriguing and quarrelling with the two legislative councils; and that the people, whose rage for liberty and equality was now merged in military pride and a passion for conquest—with those good things which the conquests of rich

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countries bring with them—seemed heartily sick of Directory, Ancients, and Cinq Cents, and ripe and ready for another revolution.

Two small frigates which lay in the harbour of Alexandria were made ready for sea; and on the 23rd of August, leaving behind him his army, now reduced to 20,000 men, and taking with him his favourite officers, Murat, Lannes, Berthier, Marmont, and three of the *savans*, he embarked secretly in one of the frigates, and set sail for France. Though happy to escape the comfortless life in Egypt, most of those who went with him expected to be stopped on their passage, and carried prisoners of war to England; but the extraordinary fortunes of the man favoured him still, and, without being pursued, or even seen, by any of our ships, he landed in the Gulf of Fréjus, to the eastward of Toulon, on the 9th of October. He had been in Paris two days, privately consulting with chiefs of parties and officers of the army, before the directors knew of his arrival. Augereau, who had fought by his side at Arcole, who had surrounded the Tuileries with troops and artillery, and had purged out two former directors and all the refractory members of the legislature, on the 18th Fructidor, 1797, and who was now ready to do whatsoever Bonaparte might command, was one of the first to wait upon him. In the course of a few days Talleyrand gave his councils the benefit of all his craft and ability. Abbé Sièyes, though now one of the directors himself, had made the notable discovery that his last constitution was a great deal too democratic; had conceived a mortal hatred to his brother-director Barras, whom he accused of downright Jacobinism and sans-culottism; and was now ready to co-operate with the ambitious general, duping himself into the absurd belief that Bonaparte would remain in allegiance to him and to another perfect constitution which he had, all ready, in his portfolio. Roger Ducos, another of the directors, yielded to circumstances. Even Barras, the early patron of the young Corsican officer, after listening, in two or three private conferences to the persuasive tongue of Talleyrand, and

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to splendid offers of honours and riches, agreed to give up the last shred of his pretended republicanism, and to remove all opposition by sending in his resignation. The two directors, who remained to support the present constitution and resist a military dictatorship, were Gohier and Moulins, a couple of blockheads. The Council of Ancients were easily persuaded of the necessity of a new constitution; but a great majority of the Council of Five Hundred vowed that they would die for the constitution they had got. On the 19th Brumaire, or 10th of November, just one month and a day after Bonaparte's landing at Fréjus, the business was finished by Murat and a detachment of grenadiers with levelled bayonets: the Council of Five Hundred was cleared in a trice; most of the members jumped out of the windows—not one of them stayed to die. On that night all the ardent republicans were proscribed; three provisional consuls (for the government was now to be consular) were appointed—and who so fit to be consuls as Abbé Sièyes, Roger Ducos, and Napoleon Bonaparte? On the following day the rising general took up his residence in the Luxembourg, the palace of the ex-Directors. As finally promulgated on the 24th of December, this "Constitution of the Year VIII.," as it is called, established three consuls, or a chief consul with two inferior ones, who were to have only a deliberative voice, the first or chief consul having the power of appointing to all public offices, and of proposing all public measures, such as peace or war; while he also commanded the forces, and superintended both the internal and foreign departments of the state. Left perfectly free to choose his own two satellites, Bonaparte would have retained Sièyes; but the ex-abbé preferred taking the place of senator, with the yearly salary of 25,000 francs, and the royal domain of Crosne in the park of Versailles. Cambacérès and Lebrun, who had both been brought up to the law, were appointed second and third consuls. Roger Ducos was also put into the senate. The first consul very soon removed from the Luxembourg to the palace of the Tuileries, where he lived with royal state. He

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now wrote to the King of England, as one sovereign writes to another, expressing a wish for peace, but without stating any conditions. George III., who could scarcely do otherwise, gave the epistle to his secretary for foreign affairs, to answer it. Lord Grenville addressed his reply, not to the first consul, but to Talleyrand, now the French minister for foreign affairs. Talleyrand replied, Lord Grenville rejoined, and there the matter ended. Our opposition orators attached great importance to the overture, which was the hollowest of all that had been made, for the first consul was preparing at the moment to recover Italy, and was determined to keep Switzerland, Savoy, Nice, Belgium, Holland, and all the German territories on the left bank of the Rhine.

In the course of this year Tippoo Sultaun was destroyed. To recover what he had lost in the last war, he had sent an embassy to Cabul to bring the Affghan tribes down into India; he had negotiated or intrigued with the Nizam of the Deccan, and with other native princes; and, towards the end of 1797, he had sent two ambassadors to the Isle of France to propose an alliance with the French republic, and to request an immediate supply of troops (30,000 or 40,000 men, Tippoo thought, would be sufficient) to enable him to expel the English from every part of Hindustan. The governor of the Isle of France, who was daily expecting a visit from the English, had no troops to spare; but he forwarded Tippoo's letters to Paris, and allowed his two ambassadors to enrol about 150 Frenchmen, "the refuse of the democratic rabble of the island," some of whom were lying in gaol at the time. But, when the moment came for embarking, nearly one-half of these desperadoes refused to go to conquer India. Some sixty or seventy of them, however, arrived at Mangalore, and thence proceeded to Tippoo's capital. As soon as Bonaparte had arrived in Egypt he had dispatched a letter to Tippoo requesting him to send a confidential person to Suez or Cairo, to confer with him and concert measures for the *liberation* of India; but it appears doubtful whether this epistle

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ever reached the Sultan. The embassy to the Isle of France, the arrival of Frenchmen at Seringapatam (but not their number), the intrigues set on foot in various parts of the country, and the fact that Tippoo was rapidly increasing his army, all became known to the government at Calcutta. The Earl of Mornington (afterwards Marquess Wellesley), who was now Governor-General, determined to anticipate the Sultan; and, after demanding explanations which were never given, his lordship sent General Harris into the Mysore country with 24,000 men, and called up General Stuart with the Bombay army of about 7000 men to co-operate with Harris. General Harris, moreover, was joined at Vellore by a strong British detachment serving with the Nizam, and by some regiments of sepoys which the Nizam had raised, and which were officered by Englishmen. Harris entered the Mysore territory on the 5th of March (1799), and moved straight on for Seringapatam, reducing all the forts in his way. General Stuart's advance was attended with greater difficulty, and with some loss, for he was encountered by the main army of Tippoo. On the 27th of March, when Harris was within two days' march of Seringapatam, he found the active Sultan drawn up to oppose him. In the action which ensued Colonel Wellesley (now Duke of Wellington) particularly distinguished himself; and it was his regiment, the 33rd, that decided the affair. Tippoo then retreated, and threw himself with his whole army into Seringapatam, the fortifications of which had been improved and increased since General Abercromby's attack in 1792. On the 5th of April General Harris took up ground for the siege; and on the 14th he was joined by General Stuart with the Bombay army. On the 30th of April the besiegers began to batter in breach; and on the 4th of May, Seringapatam was stormed and captured. Two of his sons were taken alive; but Tippoo fell near one of the gates, and was found, not without a diligent search, buried under a heap of dead bodies. In consequence of these successes, British India, instead of being invaded, was much enlarged, and was enabled

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to send an armament across the ocean and up the Red Sea, to assist in driving the French invaders out of Egypt.

The British parliament was assembled as early as the 24th of September, when the government entertained sanguine hopes of success for the Anglo-Russian army in Holland. A bill was instantly introduced to facilitate the reinforcing our regular army, by allowing three-fifths of the militia of each county to enlist in the regulars for service within Europe; and it was passed into a law on the 4th of October.

A.D. 1800.—After the recess the sense of parliament was shown by divisions which took place on an address to the king in approbation of the conduct pursued towards the first consul. In the Lords there were 79 votes for the address to 6 against it, and in the Commons 260 to 64. "As a sincere lover of peace," said Mr. Pitt, "I will not sacrifice it by grasping at the shadow, when the substance is not within my reach." On the annual motion for renewing the act for suspending the Habeas Corpus bill, there was a very stormy debate, but the measure was carried by the usual majorities. The attempt of the maniac, Hadfield, on the 15th of May, to shoot the king in Drury Lane Theatre, led to the insertion of two additional clauses in the Insanity Bill, by which the privilege of bail allowed to alleged lunatics was considerably abridged, and the personal safety of the sovereign, which had been so often endangered by the attempts of insane individuals, was specially consulted. The scarcity of corn continued to excite serious alarm, and a committee of each House was appointed to consider of the most effectual means for remedying that distress. These committees neither brought any great store of knowledge to the subject nor displayed any great fertility of invention.

At first the Irish parliament testified no great willingness to accede to the Union. The resolutions which had passed the British parliament in 1799, excited a terrible storm in Dublin and other towns; but it was observed that a large proportion of the Roman Catholic party, who had suffered most by the late rebellion, preserved

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a sullen neutrality. When the Irish Commons debated the address proposed by ministers in answer to the speech from the throne, in January, 1799, it was carried by *a majority of only one vote*. Yet, on the 15th of January, 1800, a motion made in the same house to declare their disapprobation of an incorporating union was negatived by a majority of 42, the numbers being 138 against 96. On the 5th of February, the whole plan of the Union was detailed by Lord Castlereagh, then principal secretary for Ireland. After some more vehement debates the whole plan of the Union was approved by the same parliament which the year before had all but rejected it *in toto;* and on the 27th of March the two Irish Houses agreed in a joint address, informing his Majesty that they considered the resolutions of the British parliament as wisely calculated to form the basis of an incorporation of Great Britain and Ireland into one kingdom; that they had adopted them as their guide, and now felt it their duty to lay before his majesty the resolutions to which they had agreed, and which, if they should be approved by the two Houses of Parliament of Great Britain, they were ready to confirm and ratify, in order that the same might be established for ever by mutual consent of both parliaments. On the 2nd of April, this address, together with the resolutions, was laid before the British parliament. The three first resolutions were finally carried without opposition; and, all proceedings both in Ireland and in England relative to this great national measure being concluded in the month of June, the Act of Union received the royal assent on the 2nd of July. On the 29th, parliament was prorogued.

Bonaparte tells us himself that the answer from London filled him with secret satisfaction, as war was necessary to maintain union and energy in the state, which was ill organized, as also to maintain his own influence over the imagination of the French people. But notwithstanding this secret satisfaction, he, in public, pretended to be greatly grieved, and in a proclamation to the French people, he complained of the obstinate hostility of the English; and called upon the French to furnish men

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and money in order to acquire peace by force of arms. Giving the command of the army of the Rhine to Moreau, the first consul assumed the direction of the army of Italy. Having made a demonstration of assembling an army at Dijon, in Burgundy, where he never collected more than a few thousand men, mostly raw recruits or old invalids, Bonaparte secretly directed a number of regiments from the interior of France to assemble in Switzerland, in the town of Lausanne and along the Lake of Geneva. The Austrians, lulled into security, continued their operations against Genoa, and on the side of Nice, recovering the greater part of that maritime country, and menacing the old French frontier beyond it. On the 13th of May, the first consul himself appeared at Lausanne, and prepared to march, with about 36,000 men and 40 pieces of cannon, up the Great St. Bernard. His left wing, 15,000 strong, under Moncey, was ordered to cross the Alps by the pass of St. Gothard, while, on his right, 5000 men under Turreau were to cross at Mont Cenis, and 5000 more, under Chabran, were to pass by the way of the Little St. Bernard. The march was attended with the greatest difficulty, lying for the best part of the way among rocks and precipices and eternal snows. The cannons were dismounted, put into the hollowed trunks of trees, and dragged by the soldiers; the carriages were taken to pieces and carried on mules, or, slung upon poles, were borne upon men's shoulders. The powder and shot were packed into boxes of fir-wood, which were carefully lashed on the backs of mules. Every mule, nearly every sturdy peasant in those Alps was hired or pressed into the service; so that, as the artillery was not heavy, the baggage, as usual, very light, and the command of labour immense, both the fatigue and the difficulty must be considerably exaggerated in most of the French accounts of this enterprise. On the 16th of May Bonaparte's vanguard under Lannes descended from the Great St. Bernard into the beautiful Piedmontese valley of Aosta, being closely followed by the other divisions. On the 17th Lannes drove in a detachment of Austrians, who were as much astonished

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at the appearance of the French in that quarter as if the enemy had descended from the clouds. The consul then pushed forward, driving several Austrian divisions before him, for the Ticino, on the banks of which river he was to be joined by Moncey, Chabran, and Turreau, who had passed the barrier of the Alps by easier roads. On the 2nd of June, Bonaparte entered Milan without any opposition, and was there joined by some of his divisions. On the 5th of June, after his soldiers had eaten their shoes and the leather of their knapsacks, Massena gave up Genoa to the Austrian General Ott and Admiral Keith. More than a week before this event, Melas, the commander-in-chief of the Austrian army, advised of the descent of the first consul into Italy by so unexpected a route, retraced his steps through the Nissard country and the territories of the Genoese republic, being followed by Suchet, who had been contending almost hopelessly on the old frontier line of France.

With considerable rapidity the old Austrian concentrated his scattered forces at Alessandria, a well-fortified town in the open plain of Piedmont. Marching to meet Melas, Bonaparte crossed the Po at Piacenza, drove back Melas's advanced-guard, and took up a position in the plain of Marengo, on the right bank of the insignificant river Bormida, and close in front of Alessandria. On the very next day, the 14th of June, Melas came out of Alessandria, crossed the Bormida in three columns, and attacked the French. For a long time the Austrians carried everything before them; and at four o'clock in the afternoon the battle seemed lost to the French, who were retiring on all points, and in considerable disorder. Melas, oppressed with age and infirmities, exhausted by the fatigues he had undergone, and fondly fancying the victory to be secured, quitted the field and returned to Alessandria. The commander-in-chief was scarcely gone ere his advancing and victorious column was suddenly confronted by a fresh French division under General Desaix, and was presently afterwards charged in flank by a mass of heavy cavalry commanded by the younger Kellermann. But for the opportune arrival of Desaix

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and Kellermann, the main army of the first consul was clearly ruined; and nothing but the extraordinary luck of the man, and some new blunder or torpidity on the part of the Austrians, could have allowed him to recross the Alps otherwise than as a fugitive. But now his flying columns rallied; and the Austrians, who had fought hard all day, allowed their column to be broken: General Zach, Melas's second in command, was taken prisoner with nearly all his staff; a panic arose, and horse and foot fled back in confusion towards the Bormida, the cavalry in their frantic haste riding over the infantry. The Austrian official report stated their total loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners at 9069 men and 1423 horses. The French stated their own loss at only 4000, and that of the Austrians at 12,000. But it has been proved that the loss of the French must have been much greater. Desaix, who had saved them, was shot through the heart at his first charge. He had arrived from Egypt only a very few days before, and had made all possible haste to join the first consul. Neither during the battle nor in his preceding campaigns in Italy had old Melas shown any want of judgment or of firmness; but after his defeat, and when he came to negotiate, it seemed as if his eighty-four years had indeed reduced him to a second childhood. Perhaps, however, the Austrian and Italian diplomatists who now gathered around him may be more answerable than he for the pusillanimous, imbecile (or it may be treacherous) throwing up of a game which was not yet lost—of a great game, where the stake was little less than the whole of Italy. Even after his serious reverse, Melas might have collected in the field from 40,000 to 50,000 men; General Ott had thrown a great force into Genoa, and most of the fortresses were well garrisoned. Yet, by the armistice concluded on the 16th of June, the Austrians gave up Piedmont and the Genoese territory, with all their fortresses, including Alessandria, which might have stood a long siege, and the superb Genoa, which had only been taken from the French eleven days before this disgraceful armistice, after a very long siege and at an enormous expense.

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The French were to keep all Lombardy as far as the river Oglio. In return for all these immense sacrifices old Melas was allowed to withdraw his troops to the line of Mantua on the Mincio. Having established a provisional government in Genoa, and another in Turin—although here the present king of Sardinia, Charles Emanuel, was shut up in the citadel of his capital—Bonaparte returned to Paris, where he made a triumphal entrance on the 3rd of July.

The French army on the Upper Rhine, under Moreau, had been scarcely less successful than the army of Italy. Moreau crossed the Rhine on the 25th of April; and, after defeating the Austrians under Kray in several engagements, he penetrated to Ulm. As soon as he was apprised of the first consul's successes beyond the Alps, he crossed the Danube, drove the Austrians from an intrenched camp, overran a great part of Bavaria, captured Munich, the capital, and pressed upon the frontiers of the Emperor's hereditary dominions. The armistice concluded in Italy did not extend to Germany; but Bonaparte ordered Moreau to accede to the request of the Austrians for a truce till the month of September. The Russian Tzar, instead of assisting his imperial brother, now seemed disposed to join the first consul. Conditions or overtures of peace, such as became an ambitious conqueror, were now tendered by Bonaparte; but Austria refused to treat without England, and France demanded an armistice by sea as a preliminary to the negotiations with England. The object of this last demand was as transparent as air: the French garrison in Malta, and the French army in Egypt, seemed on the point of surrendering to the English, and the first consul wanted to send reinforcements to those countries during the naval armistice. But the armistice was instantly refused by the British government, and hostilities were recommenced by land and by sea, the Emperor of Germany and the King of Great Britain reciprocally binding themselves not to conclude a peace the one without the other. At the word given by Bonaparte from Paris, three French armies put themselves in motion

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nearly at one and the same moment. The army of Italy, now under General Brune, drove the Austrians from the Mincio, and beyond the Adige and the Brenta, and advanced to within a few miles of Venice. Macdonald, with another army, occupied the passes of the Tyrol, being prepared to reinforce either Brune in Italy or Moreau in Germany. Moreau himself directed the heads of his columns towards Saltzburg and Vienna. He was met, near Haag, by Archduke John, the younger brother of his old adversary, as brave but not so skilful a general as the Archduke Charles. A battle took place, which was decidedly favourable to the Austrians; but, hazarding a general engagement, on the 2nd of December, at Hohenlinden, between the rivers Iser and Inn, the Archduke John was thoroughly defeated and driven from the field with the loss of 10,000 men. Moreau, advancing, occupied Saltzburg, and the road to Vienna seemed almost open, not only to his army, but also to the armies of Brune and Macdonald. In this terrible condition the Emperor Francis was compelled to sue for a separate peace, and the British government obliged to release him from the terms of his alliance. An armistice was concluded on the 25th of December; and the treaty of peace, called the Treaty of Lunéville, was signed on the 9th of February, 1801. It ratified all the conditions of the treaty of Campo Formio, and included several new articles very humiliating to the House of Austria. The emperor was to retain possession of Venice, but Tuscany was taken away from the Grand-Duke Ferdinand, and bestowed upon Louis, son of the Duke of Parma, who had married a Spanish princess—the First Consul, who had need of her further assistance, thinking it proper to give some recompense to Spain for her past services, and for the serious losses her fleet had sustained in encounters with the British. The emperor again acknowledged the *independence* of the Cisalpine and Ligurian republics, renouncing all right or pretension to any part of those Italian territories; and a new and extended and more advantageous frontier was drawn for the Cisalpines, the line of the Adige being taken from the point

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where that river issues from the Tyrol down to its mouth on the Adriatic. Piedmont, which lay awkwardly between the Cisalpine and Ligurian republics, was for the present left to his Sardinian majesty Charles Emanuel, whose fortresses and cities were occupied by French troops, whose subjects were in a state of revolt, and whose authority scarcely extended beyond the walls of the citadel of Turin, into which he had been compelled to throw himself with his family and a few faithful adherents. Through the mediation of the Tzar Paul, the King of Naples obtained a peace shortly after, agreeing to close all his ports against the English, and our only remaining allies, the Turks.

Through the timidity of the court of Naples, which became a perfect panic after the battle of Marengo, the supplies of corn and other provisions which had been drawn from Sicily for the use of our Mediterranean fleet, and of our forces blockading the French in La Valetta, had been interrupted for many months before King Ferdinand obtained the brief respite of this treaty of peace; and, instead of starving out the French, our forces and the poor Maltese, who co-operated with us to a man, were in great danger of being starved away themselves: but at last, after a blockade which had lasted for more than two years, the island of Malta was surrendered to the British troops, commanded by Major-General Pigot, on the 15th of September. The work ought to have been done sooner, but the prize was truly great, though it could be valuable only to the power that held the dominion of the seas.

Except in the services which Admiral Lord Keith had rendered at the useless reduction of Genoa, there was little more deserving of attention in any of our military operations during this unhappy year. Absurd and apparently contradictory orders had been sent out by our government—by the Admiralty and by the Secretary of State—to the land and sea officers in command. General Pulteney was sent with six battalions to Lisbon, as the Spaniards were threatening an invasion of Portugal; General Abercromby, who had been beating about the

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Mediterranean, the Straits of Gibraltar, and the part of the Atlantic nearest to them, with 15,000 soldiers cooped up in crowded transports, now fancying he was to be called upon one expedition, and now upon another, did at last receive positive information that he was to be employed in Egypt; but the year was now spent; and it was the middle of December ere the armament got so far as Malta.

The scarcity of grain still continued at home, depressing the national spirit, which, during the whole year, had scarcely a glimpse of victory or of glory to cheer it. The city of London and other places presented petitions to the king in the month of October, imploring him to convene the parliament. That assembly, which had taken but paltry means to relieve the distress during the last session, met on the 11th of November.

After sundry attacks rather on the foreign policy of ministers than on their spiritless conduct and undeniable mismanagement of the war, a motion was made, on the 1st of December, in the Commons, by Sheridan, for an address to his majesty, earnestly to desire him to enter into separate negotiations with France for a speedy and *honourable* peace. This being negatived by 156 against 35, Mr. T. Jones, on the 10th of December, moved an address to implore his majesty to dismiss his present ministers. This was rejected by 66 against 13. Supplies were voted for three lunar months only. For the service of the navy 120,000 men, including marines, were granted, from the 1st January to the 1st of April, 1801.

On the last day of the year the king closed the session of parliament, notifying that the time fixed for the commencement of the union of Great Britain and Ireland necessarily terminated their proceedings; and that the IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT (as the united parliament was to be called) was appointed to meet on the 22nd of January, 1801.

A.D. 1801.—On the 22nd of January the first Imperial Parliament was opened by commission. The former

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members for England and Scotland continued, according to the provision in the treaty of Union, to form part of the House of Commons; and Mr. Addington was re-elected speaker. The king did not meet this parliament till the 2nd of February, when all the members had been sworn, and other preliminary matters arranged. In his speech from the throne, after adverting to the happy accomplishment of the Union, and to the unhappy course of events on the continent, which had forced his allies to abandon him, he announced that a fresh storm was gathering in the north; that the court of Petersburg had already proceeded to commit outrages against the ships, property, and persons of his subjects; and that a convention had been concluded by that court with the courts of Copenhagen and Stockholm, the object of which was to renew their former engagement for establishing, by force of arms, a new code of maritime law, inconsistent with the rights and hostile to the best interests of this country.

Preparations were forthwith made for sending that British fleet into the Baltic, which, together with the death of the insane Tzar, put so speedy an end to this northern coalition; but before the tremendous battle of Copenhagen, and also before the brilliant success of the Egyptian expedition (the only army expedition of all that Pitt had planned that was successful), the premier of seventeen years' standing retired from his post. While recommending and urging on the Union, he had flattered the Irish with the hope that that grand measure would be the best means of obtaining the abolition or very great mitigation of the penal and disabling laws affecting the Roman Catholics; and two anonymous but authoritative papers (one known to proceed from himself, and the other from Lord Cornwallis) had been circulated among the leading Irish Catholics, and were supposed to have had no small influence in removing the obstacles which stood in the way of the Union. Before committing himself thus deeply he ought to have ascertained whether the strong religious scruples of George III. would allow him to redeem his pledge. When the

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question was first mooted (apparently in a council held towards the middle of January of the present year), the king's objections were found to be insurmountable. At the levee, on Wednesday, the 28th of January, the king said to Dundas, "What is this, that this young lord (Castlereagh) has brought over, which they are going to throw at my head?" Lord Castlereagh had brought over some plan of Catholic emancipation. The king continued, "I shall reckon any man my personal enemy who proposes any such measure!" After a short but very painful correspondence, his majesty, expressing his cordial affection for Mr. Pitt, and his high opinion of his talents and integrity, agreed to accept the resignation which the minister had tendered.

It soon became known that the king had intrusted the formation of the new cabinet to Mr. Addington, now Speaker, who was the son of Pitt's father's favourite physician, Dr. Addington, and who had been brought forward in public life by the Pitt family and connexions. On the 10th of February Lord Darnley rose in the Upper House to move for an inquiry into part of the conduct of the existing administration. Lord Grenville then stated, in the most downright manner, that the failure of their intentions in favour of the Roman Catholics had induced them to resign their places, which they now held only till their successors should be appointed. At the earnest request of several peers, who knew the real state of the king, Lord Darnley agreed to postpone his motion. On the same day a letter was read in the Commons from Addington, tendering the resignation of his office of Speaker, on account of his majesty's declared intention of appointing him to a situation incompatible with that post. When this letter had been read, Pitt rose to state that he had his majesty's commands to inform the House that they were to proceed in due time to the election of another Speaker, and, in order that time might be had for consideration, he moved an adjournment till to-morrow. The adjournment was agreed to. On the 14th of February it was publicly announced that the king was confined to the house by a *severe cold;* and on the 16th,

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the bulletin declared that he was affected by a fever; but it appears now to be fully proved that his majesty was suffering under a return of his former indisposition, brought on by anxiety and agitation of mind—an agitation occasioned principally, if not entirely, by the Catholic question and the resignation of Pitt. On the 16th, the order of the day for the House to resolve itself into a committee of supply being read, Mr. Harrison rose to oppose it. At the moment, he said, when the House was called upon to pass a vote for so large a sum as 28,000,000*l.*, there was no ostensible person at the head of affairs, on whom responsibility could be fixed, for the proper use and application of the money. Sheridan, Whitbread, and others, supported Harrison; but his motion was negatived after some long debates, by an immense majority; and on the 18th of February the House resolved itself into a committee of supply. The sum required amounted altogether, for Great Britain and Ireland, to 42,197,000*l.* The House, having agreed, after some slight alterations, to the resolutions upon the budget, Pitt on the 14th of March resigned, to the regret and perhaps to the dismay of a great majority in both Houses. He was accompanied in his resignation by Dundas, Earl Spenser, Lord Grenville, and Windham. Almost the last words that Pitt delivered in the House as prime minister were words full of hope and confidence; he felt convinced, he said, that the British fleet would, with one blow, shatter the Coalition of the North.

As soon as the serious nature of the king's indisposition was made known, a new regency bill was expected. Fox quitted his pleasant retirement at St. Anne's Hill, came up to London, and presided over a meeting of the Whig club, where he deprecated any public allusion to the king's malady, and declared that, still despairing of the House of Commons, if he re-appeared there, it should only be to support Mr. Grey's motion for an inquiry into the state of the nation. But all the time Fox stayed in town he was surrounded by speculating, hopeful visitors, who would not divest themselves of the expectation that he would soon be prime minister to the regent, or to

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George IV. These hopes were, however, damped, by reports that the old king was rapidly recovering, and they were altogether extinguished on the 12th of March (two days before Pitt's final withdrawing), when the physicians announced that his majesty was well, and that no more bulletins would be issued. Fox returned to St. Anne's Hill, and his friends to the opposition benches. The new ministry now installed in office consisted of Addington, first Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer; the Duke of Portland, President of the Council; Lord Eldon, Chancellor; Earl St. Vincent, first Lord of the Admiralty; the Earl of Chatham, Master-General of the Ordnance; Lord Pelham, Secretary of the Home Department; Lord Hawkesbury (eldest son of the Earl of Liverpool), Secretary for Foreign affairs; Lord Hobart, Secretary for the Colonies; Viscount Lewisham, President of the Board of Control for the Affairs of India; Charles Yorke, Secretary-at-War, &c.

Under the new cabinet bills were passed for continuing the act for the suppression of rebellion, and for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland, which country still remained in an uneasy, turbulent state; and, a select committee of the House of Commons having reported rather alarmingly on the existence and proceedings of certain political societies in Great Britain (particularly one in London, entitled the United Britons), the suspension of the Habeas Corpus was continued also for England and Scotland, and an act for preventing seditious meetings was revived. Parliament was prorogued, not by the king in person, but by commission, on the 2nd of July.

As early as the 15th of April intelligence had been received in London of the astonishing success of our attack at Copenhagen, and of the death of the Emperor of Russia. Various circumstances had converted Paul from an ally into the bitterest enemy of Great Britain, but the weightiest of them all was the disappointment of his irrational expectation of obtaining possession of the island of Malta. Above three hundred British vessels were seized,

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and the captains and crews of them were hauled on shore, put into irons, and sent into the interior of the country, not without threats of undergoing the horrors of the knout, and of the Siberian exile. By another proclamation this madman ordered that all the English goods and effects whatsoever on shore should be sequestered and sold forthwith. A few of his creatures congratulated him on the glory of standing at the head of the great northern confederacy; but the nobility and landed proprietors, who were incensed by a hundred other freaks, and by the incessant operation of a capricious and horrible tyranny, saw nothing but the annihilation of the trade of Russia in this quarrel with England, and nothing in the continuance of such a system of government but destruction to themselves and total ruin to the empire.

Sweden and Denmark were unfortunately too ready to join Paul, and to work out the purposes of the French. The Danes, in particular, had persisted, ever since the beginning of the war, in carrying French goods and articles contraband of war, and had resisted or eluded the search wherever they were able so to do. As soon as Paul proposed his armed neutrality, they joined it enthusiastically, and commenced making immense preparations.

The confederacy of the three northern powers, under the influence of France, against England's naval supremacy, would soon have become formidable, if extraordinary efforts had not been made to crush it. With this view a fleet was dispatched from Yarmouth Roads, on the 12th of March, consisting of eighteen sail of the line, and a number of frigates and smaller vessels, under the command of Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, with Vice-Admiral Lord Nelson as his second. The Russian, Swedish, and Danish effective force in the Baltic, was estimated at more than forty sail of the line; but deficiency in naval tactics (on the part of the Russians and Swedes), it was presumed, would neutralize this numerical superiority. As negotiation was preferred to war, the Hon. Mr. Vansittart was embarked with full powers to treat. He left the fleet in the Scaw, and proceeded in a frigate,

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with a flag of truce to Copenhagen, but returned unsuccessful from his mission, which only served to stimulate the Danes, and give them time to augment their means of defence. Nelson disapproved of distant negotiation: he said "the Dane should see our flag every moment he lifts up his head," and he urged the necessity of instant decision; but the pilots magnified the dangers of the expedition, and more days were dissipated in inactivity. At last, on the 30th of March, the British fleet proceeded into the Sound, and about mid-day anchored between the island of Huen and Copenhagen.

The whole fleet of Denmark was thence seen stationed in the road of Copenhagen, and flanked by very powerful batteries, some floating and some on land. The wind did not serve for an attack until the 2nd of April; but then, at day-dawn, Nelson made for the Danes, and soon began one of the most memorable of his battles. At about an hour after noon the fire of the Danes slackened, and before two o'clock it had nearly ceased. Nelson, then sure of success, and regretting the loss of so many brave men, sent a proposal for a truce to the prince royal of Denmark, and shortly after went on shore himself to adjust the terms of conciliation. At this moment, the whole of the Danish line to the southward of the Crown Islands, consisting of seventeen sail, were sunk, burned, or captured. Nelson repeatedly declared that no men could have behaved with more bravery and steadiness than the Danes; that the battle of Copenhagen was the most dreadful affair he had ever witnessed, that this was the most difficult achievement, the hardest-fought battle, the most glorious result that had ever graced the annals of our country. The result was the dissolution of the coalition, the battle being aided by the death of the Tzar Paul, who had been strangled at St. Petersburg on the 24th of March, nine days before the great battle had been fought at Copenhagen. He was reported to have died of apoplexy, and the intelligence of his death was tardily communicated to the neighbouring countries. His son and successor Alexander very soon released the British merchants and mariners, and entered into friendly com-

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munications with Lord Nelson, who had ascended the Baltic. On the 17th of June a convention was signed at St. Petersburg by Lord St. Helen's and the Russian ministers. Sweden and Denmark acceded to the same terms, which included a more explicit definition of the right of search, and of the law and principles of blockade, together with a limitation of articles considered as contraband of war to those of real military and naval stores, ammunition, &c. The Danish troops, who had occupied Hamburg, evacuated that great trading city; the navigation of the Elbe, and of the other German rivers which had been closed, was re-opened to our flag; and Frederick William III. of Prussia, who had succeeded his father Frederick William II., in November, 1797, who continued in vassalage or subservience to the French, and who had seized not only the independent trading city of Bremen, but also the whole of the electorate of Hanover, the hereditary dominion of George III., where he had levied contributions, and acted as a conqueror and sovereign, engaged to give up both these acquisitions, and to withdraw his troops within his old frontiers after certain amicable arrangements should be completed.

The fate of the French army in Egypt was sealed about a fortnight before the battle of Copenhagen. In the year 1800 General Kléber, after losing the fortress of El-Arish, and retreating before a Turkish army commanded by the grand vizier, and essentially aided by an English squadron under Sir Sidney Smith, found himself under the necessity of agreeing to evacuate Egypt. On the 24th of January, 1800, a treaty was concluded at El-Arish between the Turks and the French, and confirmed by Sir Sidney Smith, who had received no instructions to that effect either from his commander-in-chief, or from the government at home. By the conditions of this treaty the French army was to be allowed to return to Europe unmolested. Pitt's ministry, naturally averse to permit the arrival of such reinforcements to Bonaparte, then contending or about to contend with the Austrians in Italy, and with the imperialists in Germany, sent out orders to Lord Keith not to ratify any such convention

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as that of El-Arish. Hostilities recommenced immediately, and on the 20th of March Kléber routed the undisciplined, disorderly army of the grand vizier. But at this critical moment the Moslems of Cairo rose in insurrection, murdered many of the French that were in that city, and drove the rest of them into the citadel. Instead of following the flying vizier, Kléber was obliged to return to Cairo. After some sanguinary conflicts, and many atrocities committed on both sides, the insurgents were obliged to capitulate. Kléber was engaged in the very hopeless task of restoring order and tranquillity, when, on the 13th of June, he was stabbed by an Arab. He was succeeded by General Menou. The French were, however, enabled to maintain themselves in Egypt until the arrival of the British army under Sir Ralph Abercromby; and in the interval four French ships of war and some fast-sailing transports escaped our cruisers, ran into the mouth of the Nile, and landed important succours of troops and ammunition.

By the 1st of January, 1801, the fleet under Admiral Lord Keith, which carried this small but excellent army, had all come safely to anchor in the Bay of Marmorice, on the coast of Karamania, one of the finest harbours in the world. Here the troops were kept waiting for some time for horses which had been promised from Constantinople to mount the cavalry, and for other necessaries, some of which arrived very slowly, and some not at all. During the stay of the army in Marmorice Bay, it was joined by two more regiments of dismounted cavalry; and a sloop of war arrived in the harbour, which had a few days before captured a French brig, having on board a general officer, and 5000 stand of arms for the army in Egypt. The horses for our cavalry at last arrived; but they were such sorry beasts, that the English dragoons were ashamed to mount them or take charge of them, and every commanding cavalry officer solicited rather to serve with his corps as infantry. About two hundred of these half-starved, diminutive, galled steeds were, however, kept for the cavalry, and about fifty for the artillery, the remainder being shot, or sold for a dollar a-head.

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General Moore, who had been sent to examine the grand vizier's army, stationed at Jaffa, returned with the melancholy intelligence that it was weak as to numbers, without discipline, and infected with the plague; so that its co-operation offered no apparent advantage. At the same time it was ascertained that the French force in Egypt was far greater than had been supposed: it had been calculated that, through disease, battle, assassination, wounds, and other casualties, the army under Menou had been reduced to 13,000 or 14,000 men, whereas it was now found that, through reinforcements they had received, and some hundred of auxiliaries they had raised, the French were more than 30,000 strong, having with them above 1000 pieces of cannon.

When Abercromby had received all his reinforcements, he could not muster more than 15,330 men, including 996 sick, 500 Maltese, and all kinds and descriptions of people attached to an army except officers:—the effective force, therefore, could not be, at the highest computation, above 12,000. It was resolved, however, to wait no longer, and the fleet, on the 23rd of February, weighed anchor, and set sail in a gale of wind. On the 2nd of March the whole fleet anchored in Aboukir Bay; the men-of-war riding exactly where the battle of the Nile was fought. From the 2nd to the 7th of March the state of the weather prevented any operations in boats; but, on the afternoon of the 7th, the weather moderating, Sir Ralph Abercromby and Sir Sidney Smith went in boats to reconnoitre the coast, and fix upon the best place for landing the troops. On the following morning some gun-vessels and armed launches were sent forward to clear the beach, 5500 soldiers were put into the boats, and at a given signal a simultaneous dash was made for the shore. Though rapidly, the boats advanced in perfect order, the soldiers sitting between the seats close together, with unloaded arms. When the boats came within range, fifteen pieces of ordnance from the opposite hill, and the artillery of Aboukir Castle, opened upon them with round and grape shot; and, on advancing still nearer, musket-balls were

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showered upon them. The British soldiers huzzaed occasionally, but never attempted to return a shot. Numbers of the soldiers were killed and wounded; some boats were sunk, some turned aside to save the drowning men, but the mass of them rowed steadily forward, until they touched the strand, when the soldiers with wonderful rapidity got all on shore, and General Moore, drawing them up in line, gave the welcome word to load. Some of the English guards were roughly handled by a division of French cavalry before they could form; some loss was sustained in ascending the sand-hills which rose above the beach; but in less than half an hour those heights were carried, and the French fled, leaving all their field-pieces behind them. Advancing against the French, who took post on the ridge of heights between Aboukir and Alexandria, Sir Ralph Abercromby, with sailors dragging the artillery through a deep and burning sand, came to an indecisive action on the 13th of March, and had a horse killed under him. On the 19th Fort Aboukir capitulated; and on the 20th, General Menou having arrived from Cairo, the whole of the French disposable force was concentrated at Alexandria. The British forces now occupied excellent positions near the ground where they had fought on the 13th. About three o'clock in the morning of the 21st, when all was quiet, the report of a musket was heard at the extremity of the British left: this was followed by the report of a cannon; scattered musketry succeeded, and then the roar of two more guns was heard. Early as it was, our men were all under arms; but it was still dark, and, although some streaks of grey were perceptible in the eastern horizon, the morning seemed slow to break. Menou had hoped to take the British by surprise, but they were on the alert. The attack soon became general, and the fighting more terrible than any the French had hitherto met with. Menou's cavalry was literally destroyed; and after a long and obstinate contest, the infantry was completely routed with a terrible loss. A corps which, like nearly all the regiments now under Menou, had formed a part of the conquering army of

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Italy, and which in its pride had taken the name of "The Invincible," was almost annihilated. Our triumph was clouded by the loss of the brave old Abercromby, who was mortally wounded in the battle, and died on board Lord Keith's flag-ship on the evening of the 28th.

The consequences of the three victories we had obtained were of the utmost importance: the Arabs, who had witnessed fighting such as their fathers had handed down to them no tradition of, flocked into the British camp with abundance of provisions; the remnant of the splendid Mameluke cavalry soon began to re-appear in Upper Egypt; and even the quiet, spiritless fellahs thought of resenting the wrongs and insults they had sustained from the French soldiery. The French at Aboukir soon surrendered: in a few days the Capitan Pasha's fleet anchored there, and landed 5000 or 6000 Turks; and the grand vizier, who had been dozing at El-Arish, began to rouse himself. General (afterwards Lord) Hutchinson succeeded to the command of the British army, which was reinforced in the month of April by 3000 men. Rosetta and Fort Julien were taken from the French about the middle of April. Alexandria, into which Menou had retired, was almost insulated from the rest of Egypt by General Hutchinson, by cutting through the embankments which served to retain the waters of the Aboukir lake, and by inundating the dry bed of the ancient Lake Mareotis: a British flotilla ascended the Nile, capturing the convoys of provisions destined for the French, and carrying several works which had been erected on the banks of that river. The grand vizier was crossing the desert, and troops from India were expected to be soon at Suez. Leaving General Coote to maintain the lines before Alexandria with 6500 men, General Hutchinson proceeded to Ramanieh, where the French had collected 4000 men, who had dug intrenchments and raised batteries. Having driven the enemy from this important post, Hutchinson proceeded still farther up the Nile towards Cairo, which the grand vizier was approaching in an opposite direction. Before

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he could effect a juncture with the vizier's army, the French sallied out of Cairo and attacked it; but so spiritless had they become in their adversity, that 5000 disciplined republicans, with twenty-four pieces of artillery, allowed themselves to be repulsed by a most irregular Turkish army. Cairo was soon invested; and, on the 27th of June, General Belliard capitulated. The French, who issued out of Cairo, exceeded 13,000 in all: they left behind them 313 heavy cannon and 100,000 lbs. weight of gunpowder. At this moment the Anglo-Indian army, under Major-General Baird, was ascending the Red Sea. Baird, who had sailed from Bombay on the 7th of April, with about 2800 British, 2000 Sepoys, and 450 of the East India Company's artillery, reached Jeddah, on the Red Sea, on the 17th of May, and was there joined by an English division from the Cape of Good Hope, consisting of the 61st regiment, some squadrons of light horse, and a strong detachment of artillery. On the 8th of June Baird reached Kosseir, and commenced landing his troops; but it was the month of July before his van division began to cross the burning deserts which lie between the Red Sea and Egypt; and, before he could unite his forces at Cairo, Menou capitulated upon the same conditions as Belliard, and Egypt was cleared of the French.

In the month of March the court of Madrid, considering that it could only stop French invasion by submitting in all things to the will of the first consul, declared war against Portugal; and towards the end of April a Spanish army, commanded by Godoy, the Prince of the Peace, invaded the Portuguese provinces. In June the court of Lisbon purchased a treaty of peace (the treaty of Olivenza), by yielding some territory to Spain, and by engaging to shut their ports against the English. Bonaparte refused to concur in this treaty, and sent a French army, 25,000 strong, through Spain, to attack Portugal. The Spaniards not merely allowed the passage of these Frenchmen, but gave them every countenance and assistance they could. The French soon invested Almeida, and menaced both Lisbon and

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Oporto. The helpless Portuguese could do little beyond imploring English succours in troops, ships, and money. Some 300,000*l.* and some ships were sent; but our government thought it could spare no more troops than the three or four regiments that were already in the country. During these contests, however, an expedition was sent from England to take possession of the island of Madeira, in order to secure it for Portugal. As the negotiations for peace with England, which had been secretly renewed in the course of the summer, were now drawing to a conclusion, and as the French generals were gratified by enormous donations or bribes, the operations of the invading army were soon suspended; and, by a definitive treaty, concluded at Madrid in the last days of September, Bonaparte agreed to withdraw his troops and respect the independence and integrity of Portugal,—the court of Lisbon, on their part, agreeing to confirm to Spain all the territory which had been ceded by the late treaty of Olivenza; to make over to France one-half of Portuguese Guiana; to shut all the ports and roads of Portugal, in Europe, against all English vessels until the conclusion of peace between France and England; to nullify all preceding treaties and conventions with England; to treat France, in all matters of commerce, as the most favoured nation, &c. By a more secret article the Portuguese court paid immediately twenty millions of francs to the French republic.

The naval war became very languid, the French and Spanish fleets not venturing out of port, and their detached squadrons putting to sea only in the absence of the English. Admiral Saumarez, however, succeeded in coming up with a united French and Spanish squadron which was stealing from the Mediterranean to Cadiz; and, after failing in an attack at Algesiras, beat it on the 12th of July in the Straits of Gibraltar. Two Spanish ships, of 112 guns each, took fire, and blew up, and a Spanish 74 was taken.

On the 1st of August Admiral Lord Nelson, with a flotilla of gun-boats and other small vessels, stood over

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to the coast of France to reconnoitre the preparations said to be making for the invasion of England. On the 4th he made an experimental attack upon the flotilla which lay at the mouth of Boulogne harbour. He sunk two floating batteries and destroyed a few gun-boats which were outside the pier. But on the night between the 15th and 16th, going right into the harbour, he was repulsed with considerable loss.

Many circumstances now rendered the first consul really eager for some short suspension of hostilities with England. The Addington administration, which had started as a peace ministry, agreed to preliminaries, which were signed on the 1st of October. The Turkish Sultan and the young tzar Alexander treated with the first consul, and there was a grand interchange of compliments and of promises, which were never meant to be kept. In the month of November the Marquess Cornwallis went over to France as ambassador plenipotentiary. From Paris, where he was received with the greatest honours, and with the very lively joy of a part of the population, his lordship repaired to Amiens, the place appointed for holding the conferences. The discussions, in which Cornwallis had to contend with Joseph Bonaparte and the wily Talleyrand, were prolonged beyond expectation, and were several times all but broken off in anger and with mutual defiance. Great and reasonable jealousies were excited by the use the first consul made of the suspension of hostilities, which had followed the signing of the preliminaries in October, in sending out the French fleets; but at last, on the 27th of March, 1802, the definitive treaty of peace was signed at Amiens.

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BOOK XI.

THE PERIOD FROM THE PEACE OF AMIENS TO THE DEATH OF GEORGE III.

A.D. 1802—1820.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

ENGLAND.
1760 George III.

FRANCE.
1802 Napoleon Bonaparte, First Consul for Life.
1804 Napoleon Emperor.
1814 Louis XVIII.

SPAIN.
1808 (March) Ferdinand VII. — (June) Joseph Napoleon.
1814 Ferdinand VII. restored.

PORTUGAL.
1810 John VI. (Regent with the royal title, and full regal powers since 1799).

GERMANY (OF AUSTRIA since 1806).
1792 Francis II.

RUSSIA.
1801 Alexander.

DENMARK.
1808 Frederick VI.

SWEDEN.
1809 Charles XIII.
1820 Charles XIV.

PRUSSIA.
1797 Frederick William III.

TURKEY.
1807 Mustapha IV.
1808 Mahmoud II.

NAPLES (OF TWO SICILIES since 1816).
1806 Joseph Bonaparte.
1809 Joachim Murat.
1816 Ferdinand I. of the United Kingdom of the Two Sicilies (Ferdinand IV. of Naples, or of Naples and Sicily, or of the Two Sicilies, from 1759 to 1806, and Ferdinand III. of Sicily from 1806 to 1815).

POPE.
1800 Pius VII.

UNITED STATES.
1809 James Madison, President.
1817 James Monroe.

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CHAPTER I.

A.D. 1802.—At the time of the peace of Amiens the two great belligerent powers had scarcely the means of carrying on an active warfare against each other: without allies and auxiliaries on the continent, England could not hope to touch France by land; with fleets ruined or blockaded, with a navy completely disheartened, France could not expect to touch England by sea. The brilliant and romantic campaign in Egypt, which reminded the French of the old prowess of the British infantry, and which told the nations of Europe that these new Gallic armies were not invincible, allowed us to treat with a better grace and with less sacrifice of national pride than at any previous period of the war. We could also treat without any sacrifice of public faith, for the coalized powers on the continent, who were engaged in their arduous struggle at the times when the Foxites had recommended negotiation with Bonaparte, had now yielded, for a season, to the terrible first consul, and had sought terms for themselves without heeding us.

One great desire of the French was gratified by England recognising their so-called Republic; and to obtain this recognition had certainly been one of the various motives which induced the first consul to treat. The contracting parties to the treaty of Amiens were, the king of Great Britain and Ireland on the one part, and the French Republic, his majesty of Spain and the Indies, and the Batavian Republic, on the other. The leading articles of the treaty were:—Art. III. His Britannic Majesty restored to France, Spain, and Batavia all the possessions and colonies which he had occupied or conquered during the war, with the exception of Trinidad and Ceylon, which Spain and Batavia severally

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ceded and guaranteed to his Britannic Majesty.—Art. VI. The Cape of Good Hope was to remain to the Batavian Republic in full sovereignty, in the same manner as previous to the war.—Art. VII. The territories and possessions of our ally Portugal were to be maintained in their integrity, such as they were antecedent to the war; but that portion of Portuguese Guiana which had been ceded was to remain to the French Republic, and Spain was to keep the territory on the frontiers of Portugal which had been yielded to her by the treaty of Olivenza.—Art. VIII. The territories, possessions, &c. of the Sublime Porte were to be maintained in their integrity as they were before the war or the invasion of Egypt.—Art. IX. A Veneto-Greek Republic, which had started up, under French care, in the Seven or Ionian Islands, on the destruction of the ancient republic of Venice, which had possessed these islands for many ages, was recognised by the contracting parties.—Art. X. Malta, with its dependent isles, Gozo and Comino, was to be restored to its old masters, the Knights of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. The British troops were to evacuate Malta and its dependencies within three months from the exchange of the ratifications, or sooner if possible, when all was to be given up to the Order, provided the new grand-master, or commissioners duly authorized, were there to receive the surrender, and that the Neapolitan troops were arrived. The King of Naples was to be invited to send two thousand of his native troops to serve in garrison for one year after the restoration of the knights, or longer if the Maltese force should not be at that period deemed competent by the guaranteeing powers to garrison the island. Art. XI. The French troops were to evacuate every part of the kingdom of Naples and of the Roman States, except such portions of the latter as had been annexed to the Cisalpine Republic; and the British were to evacuate all the ports and islands they had occupied in the Mediterranean or in the Adriatic.—Art. XII. The evacuations, cessions, and restitutions named in the treaty were to be made, in Europe, within one month; on the

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continents and seas of America and Africa, within three months; and on the continent and seas of Asia, within six months, after the exchange of the ratifications.—Art. XV. The Newfoundland fisheries were to be placed on the same footing as previously to the war.—Art. XVIII. The Prince of Orange, late Stadtholder, or the branches of the House of Nassau, were to receive equivalent compensations for the losses they could prove they had sustained, as well with respect to private property as by the change of constitution adopted in the Batavian Republic. But by a secret article appended to this XVIIIth article the Batavian Republic was exempted from finding any part of this compensation, and, as no other state or territory was pledged for it, it was pretty evident that no compensation to the House of Nassau-Orange was intended.—Art. XXII. The present treaty, done at Amiens on the 27th of March, 1802, was to be ratified within *thirty* days, or sooner if possible; and the ratifications were to be exchanged in due form at Paris.

The very first use which Bonaparte made of the benefit of the suspension of hostilities at sea was to send out a formidable armament to recover, in the first place, the whole of San Domingo from the revolted or the free and independent negroes. On the 14th of December, 1801, only ten weeks and four days after the signing of the preliminaries, a great fleet and a strong land army set sail from Brest for the West Indies. The English ministry, on the solemn assurance that it had no other object in view than that which was publicly stated, agreed not to molest this armament on its passage; but, as the force was so great, and as the treaty itself was not yet signed, it was deemed advisable to watch proceedings and to reinforce our own fleet on the West Indian station; and to these ends Admiral Mitchell was dispatched with seven sail of the line. That French expedition did not, because it could not, depart from the object laid down; and it terminated, not in any re-occupation, or aggrandizement, or seizure, but in the almost total destruction of the forces engaged in it. But a few days after its first departure from Brest, Bonaparte realized

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another great project, which gave him in name—what he already had in fact—the presidency and actual command of all Lombardy and those other rich portions of Italy which by his last treaty with the Emperor of Germany (the treaty of Lunéville) were to constitute the independent Cisalpine Republic, and to be freed alike from French and from Austrian dominion and interference. He gave emphasis to the doctrine that Upper Italy could not yet be evacuated by the French armies which had *liberated* it. The whole business was finished by the 26th of January, 1802. It rendered the *independent* Cisalpine Republic a mere appendage of France; it was an infraction of the treaty of Lunéville; and, if the Emperor of Germany had been in a condition to renew hostilities, the British cabinet would scarcely have carried the preliminaries of peace to a definitive treaty. The young Emperor of Russia, who had stipulated for a share in the settlement of Italy, was highly incensed. Before the signatures were set to the treaty at Amiens, other usurpations on the part of the first consul, and other provocations most difficult to be endured by a proud nation, took place.

When the preliminaries were first announced to the imperial parliament which met in the autumn of 1801, the ex-minister Pitt assisted the Addington administration in defending what they had done and were doing. He said that after the great coalitions had all been dissolved, nothing remained for us but to procure just and honourable conditions of peace for ourselves and the few allies who had not deserted us. On the contrary, his late colleagues Lord Grenville and Mr. Windham censured the conduct of the Addington administration as mean and pusillanimous, declared the preliminaries to be disgraceful, and a prolongation of the war, though single-handed, and to any indefinite period, to be preferable to this insidious and insecure peace. Fox with his party now voted with Pitt and the Addingtons in approbation of the preliminaries; and, for some months, it was found that the minority which followed Lord Grenville and Mr. Windham in condemning the peace

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was even smaller than that which had sided for so many years with Fox in reprobating the war.

The sailing of the immense armament from Brest for San Domingo, pending the negotiation of the definitive treaty, created great alarm, and occasioned some demands in the House of Commons for the recall of the Marquess Cornwallis from Amiens. It was determined that the naval and military establishments should be continued as they were, without any reduction, for three months longer. The transactions with the Cisalpine Republic were the cause of fresh excitement; and in the course of the month of January, 1802, it became known in England that Bonaparte had exacted from Spain her American colony of Louisiana, and had claimed, in Italy, Parma, and the island of Elba, thus adding, in a time of peace or of truce, to the enormous acquisitions which he had made during the war. The delays in the negotiations obliged Mr. Addington, on the 3rd of March, to demand a supply on the war establishment for sixty-one days more. Lord Grenville spoke with great force against the conditions and tendencies of the treaty. It would have been but just and reasonable, said his lordship, for France to have purchased back her colonies, and the colonies of her allies or dependents, Spain and Holland, by continental sacrifices; but France gave up nothing, for Egypt, at the time the treaty was concluded, was not hers to give, while England gave up nearly every foot of territory she had obtained. In fact, by the result of the treaty, France was left either in actual possession of, or with a most absolute control over, the greatest or richest part of the continent of Europe: she kept Savoy, she kept Belgium, she kept the Germanic states on the left bank of the Rhine, she kept, under a fiction of independence, the whole of Upper Italy and the whole of Holland; she kept whatever she had gained. And yet she was to be repossessed of all that she had lost, and, moreover, to be allowed to acquire immense territories from her submissive and helpless allies: in Asia she was to have Pondicherry, Cochin, Negapatam, and the Spice Islands; in Africa, the Cape of Good Hope, Goree,

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and Senegal (for it was idle to talk of the Batavian Republic having or holding anything); in the West Indies, Martinique, Ste. Lucie, Guadaloupe, Tobago, Curaçoa, and a part, if not the whole, of San Domingo: in America she was to be repossessed of St. Pierre and Miquelon; and, as new possessions, whence she could press upon both the Anglo-American states and the Spanish-American and Portuguese-American possessions, Louisiana was to be hers by virtue of the secret treaty with Spain, and French Guiana was to be rounded and enlarged by territory torn from Portugal by the treaty of Madrid; and, in addition to this territory in Guiana, extending to the Amazon river, she was to have, in South America, Surinam, Demerara, Berbice, and Essequibo. In the Mediterranean too, where our naval superiority was most important, we had dispossessed ourselves of Malta, Minorca, and even the island of Elba, which France wanted merely in order to exclude us from the neighbouring port of Leghorn. We were now, in fact, excluded from all the ports of Italy; and all that inland sea seemed on the point of being converted into a French lake. The first fruits of this peace, he said, were seen in the necessity of our keeping in the West Indies, at an enormous expense, thirty-five sail of the line. He exposed the absurdity of placing Malta under the guarantee of powers who could never agree on any one point respecting the island, and of garrisoning it *pro tempore* with the least steady and least reliable troops in Europe. He called the pretended restoration of Malta to the knights a still greater absurdity; for how could it be said that such an Order was really in existence, when almost all the funds necessary for its support had been confiscated—confiscated in good part since the preliminaries of this treaty which was to restore them to their independent, sovereign power? The expenses of the Order of Malta, principally in fortifications and garrisons, had been, on an average of the last ten years, about 130,000*l.* sterling per annum. The total revenue derivable from the island was only about 34,000*l.*, and of this not more than 8000*l.* came into the coffers of the knights. Of

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those ample revenues which in former times had been enjoyed by the Order, the French had confiscated about 58,000*l.* per annum at the commencement of their revolution, when they suppressed the French *Langues*, and declared the whole Order to be a thing obsolete, useless, and detestable, like all other institutions that were built upon superstition and monachism. More recently Spain had been induced to confiscate 27,000*l.* per annum, and still more recently the estates and property of the Order had been seized and confiscated in Lombardy and in Piedmont, while it was evident that the rest of the Italian states, beggared by the war and by French exactions, were looking with an eager eye to such lands and houses as belonged to the Order, and were within their own territory and grasp. In short, of all the former income of the Order there now remained a bare 20,000*l.* per annum—a sum evidently insufficient to keep up the extensive and magnificent fortifications, or prepare for the defence of the island. The Order of Malta was therefore extinct as a power, and must necessarily come under the influence and into the pay of the French, who had reduced it to this condition of helplessness and degradation. The Grand-Master would be elected by their nomination, and the whole Order would be subordinate to the French.

In the House of Commons, Windham still more bitterly condemned the definitive treaty. The first point he dwelt upon was Malta. The pretended neutrality of that island would at any time allow the French and their allies to collect eighteen ships of the line in its ports, while we were restricted to six ships of the line. To talk of the Order and of the different langues or nations composing it, was now idle; its power, its consideration, were gone for ever. The German knights had already refused to serve in a body so changed and degraded; the Neapolitan soldiers could never be any security for the independence of the island; they would throw open the gates of La Valette and Vittoriosa to the first French force that appeared; the state of Malta was a virtual surrender, and our position in the Mediterranean would be

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made untenable; for, with the exception of Gibraltar, at the entrance of that sea, we should not have a single port or place of refuge for our ships. He (Windham) had been secretary-at-war, and he would enter on a retrospect of the manner in which the war had been conducted. He affirmed that, with the exception of the expedition to Toulon, and the melancholy affair at Quiberon, little had been attempted upon what he conceived to be the peculiar and appropriate principle of the war. There were men, there was a party, in England who had unceasingly condemned our entering into hostilities with the French. From its very commencement the war had been carried on with an incessant cry for peace; incessantly was the justice of our cause arraigned, and that of the enemy vindicated; our most splendid victories had been coldly received, our most brilliant successes had been depreciated. If the war was neither just nor necessary, every shilling spent on it was too much; if it was merely a war of experiment, it had cost us too many sacrifices: but, if it was a war for the very existence of the country, then our exertions had been too little for either our object or our means. He repeated emphatically, that it was apparent the strength of the country was unimpaired by the exertions it had made—that the country had not grown lean by them. Lord Folkstone, who seconded Windham's motion, said that the British flag was degraded and disgraced by this treaty, as far as any treaty could have that effect; that it was a treaty built on Jacobin principles and confirming Jacobin power; that we had abandoned Portugal to spoliation, and in our treatment of the Prince of Orange had added insult to injury; that he saw nothing left for old England but dishonour, degradation, and ruin. It was, however, deemed both just and expedient to give the government of Bonaparte a trial; and with this conviction, many members of both houses had voted in favour of the treaty, and had deprecated all severe strictures on the character and intentions of the first consul.

On the 5th of April, when Addington brought for-

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ward his budget for the year, he announced the intention of government to abolish the income-tax, and fund the 56,000,000*l.* with the payment of which it was charged. The resolutions upon the budget were agreed to without a division, and with many compliments and felicitations on the repeal of the income-tax.

On the 28th of June, Parliament was prorogued by the king in person, who congratulated the country on the peace and prosperity it was enjoying. On the next day the Parliament was dissolved by proclamation, and writs were issued for a new one.

English travellers, who had been so long excluded from the continent, were now rushing in shoals to France and Italy. At the beginning of June there were said to be 6000 British subjects in Paris alone, and the number increased rapidly in the course of the summer and autumn. Among those who hastened to the French capital, to attend the levees of the first consul after the rising of Parliament, were Mr. Fox, and his nephew Lord Holland, Mr. (afterwards Lord) Erskine, Lord St. John, General Fitzpatrick, and other members of both houses, mostly of the opposition party. Apparently with but few exceptions, these individuals, though they could not venture as Englishmen openly to approve of the incarnate despotism which Bonaparte had established, complacently resigned themselves to wonder and admiration at all that the great man had done and was doing, and to a most delusive hope not merely of the durability of the peace, but of the possibility of a close union and alliance between Napoleon Bonaparte, who was now taking his place among the hereditary sovereigns of Europe, and George III. Fox, who had begun that historical work which he did not live to finish, and who wished to make researches, in the archives of the office of foreign affairs and in other French repositories of state-papers, for the correspondence and intrigues of Louis XIV. and his ministers with our unhappy James II., was received by Bonaparte as a friend, was applauded for the efforts he had made to put an end to the war, and was promptly gratified in his wishes.

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Since the revolution of the 19th Brumaire, or the 10th of November, 1799, immense changes had taken place in the government and internal state of France. The Directory had left the finances in a wretched condition: forced loans, arbitrarily assessed, had been the chief resource of that rapacious and most corrupt government: these loans had destroyed all credit, and the money having been spent or appropriated as it was raised, the treasury was left empty when Bonaparte became first consul. He repealed the odious system, and substituted 25 per cent. additional upon all taxes. Other irregular exactions were put an end to, order was introduced, and confidence gradually restored. Early in the consulate it was understood that, whatever might be the scepticism or infidelity of Bonaparte, he was determined to give no encouragement to Atheism, Deism, Theophilanthropism, or to any of those creeds or systems which had sprung up with such wondrous rapidity during the Revolution. No conviction, no zeal for Christianity, was or could be pretended by the first consul, or by the Theists or Materialists who surrounded him and made up his government; but the dogmas of Anacharsis Cloots, Hébert, and the rest who had set up the worship of the Goddess of Reason, and the crudities of Robespierre, and his festival to the Etre Suprême, were all reprobated as offensive to decency and good taste; and it was assumed that the far greater portion of the French people were still Roman Catholic Christians in their heart. About 20,000 priests, who had been banished or imprisoned, were allowed to return or were set at liberty on taking the oath of fidelity to the consular government as at present established. The churches were re-opened, and, though in most of the great towns many of them were but thinly attended, Christian worship was performed all over France. The Sabbath was again recognised as a day of rest, the decades gave way to the old calculation by weeks, and, by degrees, the whole of Romme's revolutionary calendar fell into disuse. The festival of the 21st of January, in commemoration of the atrocious execution of Louis XVI., was discontinued.

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To Sièyes, who spoke of Louis as "the tyrant," Bonaparte said, "Nay, nay! Louis was no tyrant! Had he been a tyrant, I should this day have been a captain of artillery—and you saying mass." Privately, with the very few persons he admitted into a large share of his confidence (his full confidence he never gave to living being), he did not pretend to conceal that he was himself aspiring at the name of royalty, having already more than the substance of it; but he quieted their or his own impatience by declaring that "the pear was not yet ripe," —that, powerful as he was, it was necessary to proceed with caution, and to make sure of one position before he advanced to another. He, however, as early as the 19th of February, 1800, took possession of the royal palace of the Tuileries, telling his colleagues that it was "a good military position," and a more convenient place for the seat of government than the Luxembourg, which had been defiled and disgraced by the residence of the Directors. Of the placemen, those who had been the most fanatic in their republicanism became the most devoted partisans, the loudest-tongued panegyrists, the most submissive slaves of the consul. These sudden and extreme conversions were not calculated to improve Bonaparte's low opinion of mankind. He was accustomed to say that with money and a little gold lace to put upon their coats, he could unrepublicanise all these republicans. But still there were in Paris republicans of a lower grade, who retained all the fanaticism of the Reign of Terror, and who were from the beginning dissatisfied with a dictatorship which shut up their clubs, suppressed their newspapers, and excluded them from all hope of being great or famous as demagogues. It is rather remarkable that the hottest of these Jacobins, the most sincere and devoted of these republicans, were not Frenchmen, but Italians and Corsicans.

Cerrachi, a sculptor from Rome, Dana, with several other Italian refugees, and Joseph Arena, a Corsican, and brother of Bartholomew Arena, who had been a distinguished member of the Council of Five Hundred, and who had vigorously opposed Bonaparte on the 19th

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Brumaire, when he went to St. Cloud to dissolve that legislature with bayonets, formed or headed a conspiracy against the life of the first consul, whom they not incorrectly designated as the greatest of liberticides. Their plot was discovered, they were tracked by Fouché's adroit agents, and were all arrested. Shortly after this, on the 24th of December, 1800, as Bonaparte was driving in his carriage to the opera-house, a tremendous explosion of several barrels of gunpowder, in a waggon which was drawn up on one side of the street, destroyed several houses, and killed many persons. The first consul's carriage, driven at unusual speed by a coachman who is said to have been half intoxicated, had just passed; the fearful explosion made the man drive still faster; sundry impediments that had been placed in the streets were passed without accident; and unhurt, and enthusiastically cheered by the audience, who had promptly conceived the object of the explosion, Bonaparte entered the opera. As his hatred and dread of the Jacobins always exceeded his dislike of the royalists, he declared that he was convinced the murderous plot was a Jacobin one; but the police soon ascertained, beyond the reach of a doubt, that the Infernal Machine, as it was termed, had been the work of certain fanatical royalists connected with the Chouans in Britany and the Vendée. They were caught in the toils which the police spread for them, and were speedily tried and executed. Their attempt had no other effect than that of increasing the popularity and power of the first consul. At the same time that they were guillotined, Cerrachi, Arena, and the others concerned in the republican plot, having already been tried and found guilty, were brought out of prison and executed also. A few days after these Bourbonists and Jacobins had lost their heads, a SENATUS CONSULTUM, as every decree of the senate, or published will of Bonaparte, was now styled, came forth, ordering the immediate transportation to Guiana of 130 known leaders of the old Jacobin party, several of whom had participated in the atrocities of the Reign of Terror. In April, 1801, a general amnesty was granted to all emigrants who chose

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to return to France and take the oath of fidelity to the present government. About 500 individuals were, however, excepted, including those who belonged to the households of the Bourbon princes, those who had been at the head of armed bodies of royalists, or who had held rank in foreign armies employed against their country, and all those who were held to be convicted of treason. The property of the returned emigrants which had not been sold, or which had not been appropriated by the state for public purpose, was to be restored to them. But no laws were fixed to determine and regulate this restitution; and the first consul restored or withheld, gave to one member of the emigrant family or to another, just in proporton as he found the parties disposed to enter his service and identify their interests with his. The words "stability and order" were now constantly resounding in every ear, and introduced in every page of printed paper; and under the cloak of these two fine words the entire subversion of liberty and the erection of a despotism were concealed. They found a people wearied out by a long excitement, and anxious only for order and tranquillity at home, and glory and conquest abroad; a people that did not moan or sigh over the bloody fantastic tricks which had been played, but laughed at them all, pleasantly terminating their political retrospects and reflections with a "*Que de farces nous avons faites dans notre révolution!*'

On the 2nd of August, 1802, the following decree went forth, with a proper preamble about votes and registers, and the unbiassed will of the people:—"1. The French people name, and the senate proclaim, Napoleon Bonaparte first consul for life. 2. A statue of *Peace*, holding in one hand the laurel of victory, and in the other this decree of the senate, shall attest to posterity the gratitude of the nation. 3. The senate will convey to the first consul the expression of the confidence, love, and admiration of the French people." —And after a very few days this new revolution was completed by the issuing of a simple Senatus Consultum, which accommodated the last consular constitution, or

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that made after the bayonet-scene at St. Cloud, to the present change, by rendering it still more despotic.

By the end of the year 1802 Bonaparte had concentrated the whole power of the state in his single self, and had organized an absolutism compared with which that of Louis XIV. was a free government. In the words of the ablest and honestest of the republican historians of France, he had a class devoted to him in the clergy as re-organized by the Concordat; he had a military order in the Legion of Honour; an administrative body in the Council of State; a decree-making machine in the Legislative Body; and a constitution-making machine in the Senate. The immense standing army was at his disposal, and, almost unanimously, devoted to him and his glory. So many places had been created with direct salaries from the state, that he had another army in his placemen, and constant baits to hold out to the thousands of needy or ambitious men that were incessantly resorting to Paris to seek employments under government:—and now everything was under government, and by the centralization system the place of distribution was the capital alone. This rage for place-hunting increased in proportion with his splendour and his power, contributing in an eminent degree to the growth and maintenance of that power, and to the general indifference for national freedom; for, besides France and Italy, Belgium and the annexed provinces on the left bank of the Rhine, Bonaparte could, soon after this, appoint to profitable employments in Holland, and in more than half the states into which Germany was divided, and a few years later Spain and Portugal presented themselves as new Lands of Promise to the ever-increasing and insatiate place-hunters. At the end of his reign, it was not easy to find a man that was not, or had not been, either *militaire* or *employé*.

The absolute power put into the hands of the first consul for life was used with the utmost vigour. His government assumed at once most of the characteristics of an ancient despotism. Even while Fox and his friends were tarrying in Paris, secret arrests were made by night

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and by day, and by scores at a time. Men were arrested upon the information of spies and informers, were immured in the Temple or some other state-prison, without knowing of what they were accused; and were not unfrequently removed in a private manner, and by night, from these places of captivity in Paris to much more horrible prisons or fortresses in remote parts of France. These nocturnal arrests and removals were called Fouché's lettres-de-cachet.

The peace of Amiens, besides affording the first consul the opportunity of consolidating his power and of putting matters at home in order, allowed him time to devise a vast system of colonization. He could not but know that, without foreign colonies, there could be no rapid or certain increase of the mercantile navy of France, and that without a mercantile navy he could have no hope of an armed or national navy capable of contending with that of England—a country whose subjugation was more frequently in his thoughts during this brief peace than it had been during the turmoil and bustle of the war. "Colonies and ships," "Ships and colonies," were words constantly re-echoing in the Tuileries and the Council of State. He took up the ideas of colonization and naval supremacy which had been current during the American war and all the earlier part of the reign of Louis XVI., and he added bolder notions of his own. He regarded colonies first as *military stations* whence conquests might be pursued, and secondly as sources of commercial prosperity and nurseries for seamen; and in his eyes the military part seems never to have been separated from the civil, or conquest from commerce. The expedition to St. Domingo not only formed an essential part of Bonaparte's colonial system, but also afforded him the opportunities of finding employment in a time of peace for a portion of his immense army, and of relegating many of his discontented officers and soldiers far from France. Papers are said still to exist which show that this expedition was for the first consul a measure of military police; that the drafting of the forces to be employed was most cunningly arranged; that the choice

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fell upon the demi-brigades of which he was least sure, and upon the most ardent of the republicans; that the men devoted to Moreau, and the other sturdy republican generals who would not bend the knee at the Tuileries, were all thrust into this fatal expedition. But to keep in control those discontented, turbulent masses, the command in chief was given to General Leclerc, who had become Bonaparte's brother-in-law by marrying his favourite sister Pauline; and, to officers and men, the most tempting and extravagant promises were given of estates and riches in the vast and productive island to which they were going. About 24,000 soldiers were collected on the western coast of France in the autumn of 1801. To transport them to their destination, Bonaparte demanded the services of the Spanish navy; and seven Spanish ships of the line, besides frigates, were put at his disposal. The whole fleet, which sailed on the 14th of December, 1801, consisted of 23 or 24 sail of the line, including some Dutch ships, of 10 or 12 frigates, and of a swarm of smaller vessels and transports. The way in which the first consul disposed of the naval forces of his allies or dependants gave rise to serious reflections in England, for it proved that all the shipping and ports from the Texel to Cadiz were at the disposal of the French, and that, if any long peace were allowed to the Continent, these navies would be greatly increased.

The negroes and mulattoes of St. Domingo, who had themselves abolished their slavery by energetic, sanguinary, and terrible means, were now settled down under an imitative temporary republic, of which Toussaint Louverture, a black slave of distinguished courage and ability, was the real head. Toussaint had fought like a Spartacus—only with better success—for the liberation of his race; but notwithstanding his bravery and talent, he had little instruction, and was, like all the negro race, essentially an imitator, who could only copy and follow the ideas and systems of the whites. At first he made a constitution for the negroes of St. Domingo like that which the Directory had made for France; but, when the revolution of Brumaire established the consulship,

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put the power of the state in the hands of Bonaparte, and altered the constitution, Toussaint changed his constitution also, proclaiming himself first consul of Haiti, the Bonaparte of St. Domingo! These close imitations irritated the first consul of France, hurt his very susceptible pride, and made him the more eager for the overthrow of this negro republic. "This comedy of government," said he, "must cease! We must not permit military honours to be worn by apes and monkeys!" As for the abolition of negro slavery, Bonaparte considered it as one of the most glaring absurdities which had ever been entertained by the ideologists and revolutionists of France. General Leclerc and his doomed demi-brigades found, almost as soon as they landed in St. Domingo, that every negro on the island was hostile to them, and that they were sent to engage in one of the most difficult and destructive of warfares, in a country where the climate and everything else was against them. Their first successes only deceived them, led them into a false and dangerous confidence, and made their subsequent failures more terrible to themselves and more disappointing to those who had sent them thither. Fort Dauphin was easily captured; Cape Français was evacuated by the negro Henri Christophe, who had once been a skilful cook at a tavern, but who was now a general of the blacks, and second only to Toussaint Louverture; but, before quitting the town, Christophe burned the greater part of it, and he succeeded in drawing off 3000 armed negroes, with whom he joined the black first consul. With nearly equal ease the French got possession of Port-au-Prince and the chief seaports, and of the principal military posts near the coast. This done, they advanced into the interior of the island to encounter the black first consul and the yellow fever. Various loose actions were fought, in which victory did not invariably declare itself for the whites, and in which the black generals are said to have displayed both skill and courage. But the white first consul had instructed his brother-in-law to employ craft where force failed; to sow jealousies and dissensions among the negroes; to

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dupe the black first consul by treaties and promises of amnesty, honours, and the viceroyalty of the island; and to adopt all means, foul and fair, to get possession of his person. Though by no means devoid of cunning, or unaccustomed to practise treachery himself, the negro chief fell into the snare, submitted to Leclerc, and was presently loaded with chains and sent a prisoner to France. But the successful treachery did not lead to the result which Bonaparte had confidently expected from it. With a unanimity, with a fury doubled by the dark deed, the negroes flew to arms under Henri Christophe and other leaders, fell upon the French when weakened by the endemic fever, scattered them, drove them back towards the coast, and tortured, mutilated, butchered them in heaps wherever they obtained the mastery over them. Between the blacks and the whites nearly all the plantations and the dwellings of men were wasted by fire and the sword; and devastations were committed from which the island has never recovered, nor is likely to recover under negro government. The French retaliated wherever they were able, and the most atrocious of wars was prolonged through many months. Even in the restored island of Guadaloupe, where but a slight resistance was offered by the blacks and mulattoes, detestable barbarities were committed, and the French commander frankly announced his intention of pursuing and *exterminating* the remnant of the rebels. In the autumn of 1802, when the yellow fever and the blacks of St. Domingo had reduced the fine French army to a few hundreds of sickly, wounded, despairing men, and when Leclerc himself was dying of the endemic, Christophe, with the black chiefs Clervaux and Dessalines, invested the town of Cape Français. Leclerc died on the 2nd of November, and was succeeded in the chief command by General Rochambeau, son of the old marshal of that name who had served in America with Lafayette, and who had commanded the first great revolutionary army in 1790. The arrival of fresh reinforcements from France—in all about 15,000 men—enabled Rochambeau to drive Christophe and his blacks from Cape Français, which they were

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threatening with a regular siege. He then attempted to recover the ground which Leclerc had lost, and to penetrate into the south of the island; but the troops fresh from Europe caught the terrible diseases of the climate; and after some marches which multiplied the mortality, and some disastrous encounters with Christophe, he was compelled to retreat to Cape Français, with a force so diminished, sick, and disheartened, as to render any long defence of that place an impracticability. As by this time the war with England had been recommenced, Bonaparte could not venture to send out any more ships and troops. Preferring a capitulation with the negroes to a surrender to the English, Rochambeau treated with the black chief Dessalines, agreed to deliver up the town to him, and evacuated Cape Français on the 1st December, 1803. A more fatal expedition is not to be found in the whole history of this long war: between February, 1802, and December, 1803, from 40,000 to 50,000 men perished in the island of St. Domingo; but, assuredly, one of the objects of Bonaparte was obtained; the troublesome, obdurate republicans could trouble him no longer —the dead, and only the dead, never come back,—as citizen Barrère had said in the high republican days. The treatment which Toussaint Louverture met with in France was at least as atrocious as any part of this horrible history.

A few months after the first sailing of the exiled republican army for St. Domingo, the first consul dispatched Colonel Sebastiani, a Corsican of great address and ability, to Egypt, Syria, and other countries in the Levant; for Egypt still lay at the heart of this all-grasping ruler; and, whether he should recover and keep the great West India islands or not, he was eager to possess himself of the ancient land of the Pharaohs, of the Isthmus of Suez, of all the country that lay between the Mediterranean and the shores of the Red Sea, or that stretched along that sea; for this possession, he still fancied, would facilitate his views on India: and it entered into, and would become, a capital part of the grand scheme for seizing the islands along the African

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coast, and in the Arabian and Indian seas, or all the approaches to Hindostan.

By deeds as well as by words the first consul had proved that those who were disposed to give him a trial were making a very useless and dangerous experiment, and that the only treaty he consulted was his own ambition and absolute will. The erecting himself president of the Cisalpine Republic, between the signing of the preliminaries and exchanging the ratifications of peace, had been overlooked or had not been allowed to stand in the way of the pacific experiment, had, however, been understood at Amiens; and an express promise and pledge to that effect had been given to the Emperor of Russia, who took an active interest in the fate of the House of Savoy, that Piedmont should neither be united to the so-called republic in Italy, nor incorporated with France, but be left, with some slight clipping, to the unfortunate King of Sardinia. It was equally understood that France, which had been allowed all the benefits of the *uti possidetis* principle, should remain content with what she had, nor attempt any new incorporations or annexations of territory either beyond the Alps or elsewhere. Yet, because the young Emperor Alexander refused to take up that wild scheme of Indian conquest to be made jointly by France and Russia, which had been entertained by his father, and because he declined concurring in other hostile views against Great Britain and Austria, Bonaparte, after sundry encroachments and stretches of power on the side of the Rhine and in that other puppet-state the Batavian republic, took possession of Elba in virtue of an agreement with Naples and Tuscany; seized upon the duchy of Parma, on the death of the Duke Ferdinand; and finally, by a Senatus Consultum, dated September 2nd, 1802, annexed and incorporated the whole of Piedmont with France. Vittorio Amedeo, the original member of the coalition of sovereigns, had died broken-hearted in 1796; his successor, Carlo Emanuele, had been compelled by the French, and his own republican-disposed subjects, to sign an act of abdication, and to retire with all his family to the rude

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island of Sardinia in 1798. As soon as the then impassable sea was placed between this sovereign and his oppressors, and he was doubly safe in the midst of the brave Sards, he put forth a simple and touching, yet spirited protest. Shortly after he voluntarily resigned the crown to his younger brother, Vittorio Emanuele, who was now ruling, not unwisely or unpatriotically, in Sardinia, which was all that was left of the dominions of his ancient house, one of the most ancient of the dynasties of Europe. But, as a very large portion of the Savoyard and Piedmontese nobility, either anxious to escape from the insolence and oppressions of the French and the republican party of their own countrymen, or to prove their fidelity and attachment to their princes, had followed the exiled family into the island, and as industry and civilization were at a very low ebb, balking the bounties of nature and the richness of the soil, the court remained crowded and miserably poor—so poor, for years, that the noblest were obliged to exhibit themselves in patched coats, and the royal family itself must have been reduced to absolute privations if it had not been for grants of money made by England. Nor was it the intention of the French to respect this last asylum (except the grave) of royalty and wretchedness. "Sardinia," said Bonaparte, "produces the best bread in the world:—Sardinia is but a continuation of the island of Corsica, and, like Corsica, must, naturally, be ours." Emissaries and propagandists were thrown into Cagliari to work upon the discontents of the people, and tempt them with prospects of the advantages and honours to be derived from an incorporation with the French republic; and more than once these agents very nearly succeeded in exciting dangerous insurrections.

The French troops had never been entirely withdrawn from Switzerland; and in the autumn of the present year a fresh army was marched into the cantons. The constitution which had been set up by the Directory, and the dissensions and feuds which French intrigue had promoted, had thrown the whole of that tranquil and once happy country into a most stormy and unhappy condi-

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tion. Many collisions took place, and not a little blood was spilt. At the same time the established provisional government refused to sanction the dismemberment of the Valais, which Bonaparte wanted for his projected military road over the Simplon. In the month of October the first consul sent his trusty aide-de-camp Rapp to Berne, to offer to the distracted cantons his mediation for the settlement of all their differences; and at the same time he ordered General Ney to be at hand to enforce obedience at the head of an army. The democratic party readily accepted the proffered mediation; the aristocratic party, despite of Ney and his army, who were marching on Berne, showed considerable reluctance; but they were obliged to send Aloys Reding with other deputies from their own body to Paris, and eventually to submit to the law dictated in the Tuileries. It is true that Bonaparte, who now added "Mediator of the Helvetic League" to his other titles, displayed more moderation and at the same time infinitely more political wisdom in this matter than in any other of the same sort; but his *modus operandi* was worse than an insult to Austria, the close neighbour of Switzerland, and to the other powers of Europe, who had each as good a right to mediate as he had; the march of Ney's army was a direct and glaring attack on that Swiss independence which he had engaged to respect; and, besides all this, he forced the federal government to agree to maintain a body of 16,000 men in his service, and he retained Geneva and the bishopric of Basle, which had been seized by the Directors, at the same time separating from Berne the whole of the Valais, which country was not long after incorporated with France.

Another grand provocative to the rupture was the fierce and systematized hostility of Bonaparte to the commerce of Great Britain, which, instead of being allowed through the return of peace to flow in its old channels, was actually more impeded and hampered in France, and in the countries where the French held sway, than it had been during the war.

While the first consul was making every month or

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week some new encroachment, or advancing some new claim; while he was every day departing, if not from the strict letter, from the spirit of the treaty of Amiens, he pretended to bind England to the strict observance of every article in that treaty which was against her, and insisted on the immediate evacuation of Malta, the Cape of Good Hope, and of every place she had agreed to restore.

The newly returned Imperial parliament assembled as early as the 16th of November, when Mr. Abbott was unanimously re-elected Speaker of the House of Commons. The speech from the throne seemed to intimate that the renewal of the war was at least probable, his majesty saying that, notwithstanding his sincere desire for peace, it was impossible for him to lose sight of that system of policy by which the interests of other states were connected with our own welfare, and by which he was obliged not to be indifferent to any material change in the relative condition and strength of the European powers. Augmentations both of the navy and of the army were proposed by ministers a few days after the commencement of the session. On the 8th of December, the secretary-at-war, Mr. Charles Yorke, rose to move the army estimates. He said that he considered that the feelings of the nation at large had been distinctly manifested; that those feelings were, that we should preserve the peace we had made, so long as it could be preserved with honour; that we should overlook insignificant provocations, and that we should also abstain from aggression and from irritating language; but that, at the same time, we should always be ready to repel aggression, and to resent a great national insult. The military force of France at the commencement of the present year amounted to about 428,000 men, without counting national guards and the immense bodies of gendarmerie.

In the month of November a conspiracy against the king and government was discovered and announced in a manner calculated to give rather more alarm than the nature of the plot and the character of those engaged in

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it seem to have justified. It was headed by Colonel Edward Marcus Despard, an old soldier, who had once been distinguished by bravery and loyalty, but who had been driven into discontent and disaffection by not receiving the rewards to which he considered himself entitled through his services and abilities, and by the refusal or delay of government to liquidate some claims which he made upon it. He was a native of Ireland, and well connected in that country. On the 18th of November, two days after the meeting of parliament, Sir Richard Ford, a magistrate, issued a warrant, and a strong party of the London, Surrey, and Kent patrols proceeded to a low public-house in Oakley-street, Lambeth, nearly opposite the Asylum, where they found Colonel Despard and thirty-two other individuals, mechanics, day-labourers, and common soldiers, Irish, Scotch, and English, but chiefly Irish, who were all taken into custody, without making any attempt at resistance.

A.D. 1803.—On the 7th of February Colonel Despard was brought to trial at the Surrey Sessions House, Newington, before a special commission, of which the lord chief justice of the King's Bench (Lord Ellenborough) was principal. With the single exception of Despard, all the individuals implicated were of the lowest order.

The evidence produced left little doubt as to the existence of a plot of the wildest and most absurd kind. The first witness called for the defence was the gallant Nelson, who, in energetic language, bore honourable testimony to the character of Despard: they had been, he said, on the Spanish Main together in 1779; they had been together in the enemies' trenches, they had slept in the same tent; assuredly, he was then a loyal man and a brave officer. General Sir Alured Clarke and Sir E. Nepean declared that they had always considered his loyalty as undoubted as his bravery. Despard declined saying anything in his own behalf. Lord Ellenborough summed up the evidence; the jury, after half an hour's deliberation, returned a verdict of guilty, but recommended the prisoner to mercy.

Two days after, on the 9th of February, twelve of the

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other prisoners were brought to the same bar. The jury returned a verdict of guilty against John Wood, Thomas Broughton, John Francis, William Lander, John Macnamara, and four others of the prisoners, but recommended three of them to mercy.

Notwithstanding the recommendation of the jury, the appeals of his wife, and other applications, the king in council judged it not advisable to extend the prerogative of mercy to Despard. It happened unfortunately that just at this moment the colonel's countrymen were again in a very turbulent state:—the dissenters of the north of Ireland were plotting under the guidance of Mr. Russel, who, like Despard, had been an officer in the army, and had served with much distinction; the Catholic peasantry in the south had very recently been in open insurrection, to fix the maximum price of potatoes, and to expel the strangers who had settled among them; and ever since the rumour of the exceeding great probability of the renewal of the war with France, much activity, and going and coming, to and from the Continent, had been observed among the old club-men in Dublin. On the 21st of February, Colonel Despard; Macnamara, an Irishman, and a carpenter by trade; John Wood, a soldier; John Francis, a soldier and shoemaker; Broughton, a carpenter; Graham, a slater; and Wrattan, a shoemaker, were all executed.

On the 8th of March a message from his majesty to both Houses of Parliament was received by the country, and by all Europe, as the signal of the close approach of war. It stated that, as very considerable military preparations were carrying on in the ports of France and Holland, his majesty had judged it expedient to adopt additional measures of precaution for the security of his dominions. In the debates which took place in the Lords on the proposed address in answer to this message, Lord Hobart (afterwards Earl of Buckinghamshire), secretary for the colonies, said that it was the earnest wish of ministers still to be able to prolong peace. Earl Spencer, who had been first lord of the admiralty under the late Pitt administration, said that he had ever been

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a friend to vigorous measures; that he rejoiced to find ministers were at length sensible they had gone the full lengths of concession and negotiation, and were now determined to act a manly part; that there was no other chance of saving this country but by showing the first consul that we were not afraid of meeting France even though single-handed, and that, rather than suffer the smallest particle of the national honour to be tarnished, we were ready to recommence hostilities. The address was carried in the Lords *nem. con.* In the Commons Addington faintly repeated the hope that the continuance of peace might yet be found possible. Here too the address was voted unanimously.

The very day after this debate (on the 10th of March), another message was delivered expressing his majesty's intention of embodying and calling out the militia. On the 11th, the House of Commons having resolved itself into a committee of supply, ministers proposed to add 10,000 seamen to the 50,000 already voted. In the debates on this subject no small blame was thrown upon the Addington Administration for having tried the experiment of peace, and several declarations were made that the existing administration was altogether incompetent to the carrying on of a vigorous war.

But on the 6th of May Lord Pelham communicated to the Lords, and Mr. Addington to the Commons, another message from his majesty, intimating that orders had been given to Lord Whitworth, our ambassador, to quit Paris immediately, unless he found a certainty of bringing the pending negotiations to a close against a certain period, and that General Andréossi, the French Ambassador, had applied for a passport to be ready to quit London as soon as he should be informed of Lord Whitworth having quitted Paris. Ministers said that, therefore, an adjournment would be advisable for two or three days. Both houses adjourned till the Monday following. But it was not until the 16th of May, and after another adjournment, that all doubt and uncertainty were terminated by another royal message, which announced the recall of Lord Whitworth and the departure of Andréossi. In order to give time for producing the necessary papers,

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the consideration of the king's message was postponed for two days. But on the 17th, the day after the message was delivered, an order of council was published directing that reprisals be granted against the ships, goods, and subjects of the French republic; and a proclamation was issued for an embargo on all ships in the British ports belonging either to the French and Batavian republics, or to any countries occupied by French arms. The declaration of war was received in England with almost universal enthusiasm: the news was welcomed in the city of London with hats in the air, with three cheers, and with right-down English huzzas. Men felt that the experiment of a peace had been tried and had failed; that an armed truce would be nearly as expensive as an active war, without the excitement and glory of warfare; that such a truce would enable Bonaparte to crush the spirit of national independence, to establish his dominion over the continent of Europe, and to build, with all the resources of the Continent, in trebly fortified and inaccessible ports, a fleet which, in the course of a few years, might dispute with us the sovereignty of the seas.

This important subject was not fully taken into consideration until Monday the 23rd of May. In each House an address was moved, re-echoing the sentiments of the king's message and declaration. Some few doubts were expressed as to the justice or the expediency of commencing hostilities without some further attempt at negotiation; but, in both Houses, the doubters were left in a most feeble minority.

At war with France, it was impossible to be at peace with Holland, which was now little more than a French province, and which still retained maritime resources too great to be despised. Lord Hawkesbury soon called the attention of the Commons to another royal message relating to the ex-Stadtholder of Holland, our late ally, the Prince of Orange, who had been despoiled and left without a home, and who had no reliance except on the generosity of this country. His lordship then moved that the sum of 60,000*l.*, and a pension of 16,000*l.* per annum, during the pleasure of his majesty, should be granted to

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the illustrious house of Orange. The grant passed without opposition.

On the following day, the 18th of June, another royal message acquainted parliament that, for the security and defence of the country, his majesty thought it necessary that a large additional force should be raised and assembled forthwith. On the 20th, in the Commons, Mr. Yorke, the secretary-at-war, presented the plan of increase, which proposed to levy an army of reserve 50,000 strong—the men to be raised by ballot like the English militia, and their services during the war to extend to Great Britain, Ireland, and the Channel Islands. A bill to this effect was carried through both houses, not without opposition to some of its particulars, but without any division. Subsequently (on the 18th of July), Mr. Yorke moved for leave to bring in a bill enabling his majesty to raise a levy *en masse* in case of invasion. [At this moment the opposite coasts of France and Belgium were lined with troops, and the 'Moniteur' and the Brussels 'Gazette' were calculating how many weeks or days it would take Bonaparte to reach London.] This, he contended, was an ancient and indispensable prerogative of the crown, as was acknowledged in the laws of the Anglo-Saxons, in the assize of Henry II. and statute of Henry III.; and the object of the present bill was only to facilitate the exercise of such prerogatives in case of need.

The levy *en masse* bill was passed *nem. con.* Three days after this a message was delivered from his majesty, acquainting both houses that a treasonable and rebellious spirit of insurrection had manifested itself in Ireland, and had been marked by circumstances of peculiar atrocity in the city of Dublin. The corresponding address to the throne was carried at once and unanimously; and before another sun rose two bills, one for trying rebels in Ireland by martial law, the other for suspending anew the Habeas Corpus act in Ireland, were hurried through all their stages and passed.

Long before these debates were over the new Irish rebellion had extinguished itself in the bottomless pool

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of its own follies. But at Paris the movement had been well concerted:—while the shores of England were threatened with invasion, Ireland was to be made the seat of civil war, and the Irish exiles and refugees had pledged themselves for the success of the insurrection, *if* Bonaparte would supply them with *only* money, arms, artillery, ships, and troops.

As early as the 13th of June, in bringing forward the budget, the chancellor of the exchequer had intimated his intention of reviving the income-tax as a necessary war-tax, and on the 5th of July he moved that the house should go into committee upon that subject. The new tax he chose to call a property-tax, although in substance it was little more a *property*-tax than the old one, only containing a clause by which, in cases of incomes from land or interest of money, no particular disclosure was to be required. The proportion now demanded was not, however, so large as formerly. Some abatements were also granted to various classes of persons; and the bill was read a third time, and passed on the 1st of August.

Various other new taxes and duties were also imposed. The total amount of supplies granted for the year was 41,363,192*l*. The session was closed on the 12th of August by a speech from the throne. The king appeared in excellent health and spirits, and was enthusiastically cheered by immense multitudes on his way to and from parliament.

The war was inevitable before, but, perhaps, no single circumstance tended more to exasperate Bonaparte than the trial of Peltier, with the eloquent pleading of the late Sir James Mackintosh. Jean Joseph Peltier was a journalist and royalist refugee, living and publishing in London, and not in himself a very interesting or exalted person, having little literary merit, and being much more abusive and calumniatory than eloquent or witty. At the commencement of the revolution he edited a monarchic paper, entitled '*Les Actes des Apôtres*,' and wrote a great number of pamphlets. After the 10th of August, 1792, when the Bourbon monarchy was rent to pieces, and "when our shores were covered as with the

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wreck of a great tempest," he fled to England, and availed himself most actively, and to an immense extent, of our liberty of the press. He began, after the peace of Amiens, to publish a new journal, called '*L'Ambigu*,' in which he lashed the first consul, his court and government. In the fourth number of this paper appeared a miserable ode on Bonaparte's revolution of the 18th Brumaire, fictitiously ascribed to Chenier, the republican poet. Peltier, or his ode, represented Bonaparte as Cæsar who had passed the Rubicon, as the tyrant who had left no liberty in France; and pictured the last of the Romans with an avenging poniard in their hands—and then, descending from classicalities, asked the warriors of France whether they were not ashamed of serving a Corsican, *un Corse*—and then, returning to the classical, recommended the Tarpeian Rock, &c. At the same time Peltier gave vent to another thing in rhyme, called 'The Prayer of a Dutch Patriot,' wherein he spoke of Bonaparte's making and unmaking kings, of his making himself consul for life, &c., praying that the succession might soon be left open by his death, or that he might disappear like Romulus in a mysterious apotheosis. Instead of meeting these rhymes with contempt, Bonaparte fell into a transport of passion: he pretended that they were provocatives to his assassination and to the overthrow of his government. He instructed his ambassador at London to demand satisfaction from the British government. Our secretary for foreign affairs, Lord Hawkesbury, replied that in England the press was free and unshackled, that its excesses were punishable by law —that our courts of law were open to all—that the British court and the ministers themselves, often traduced and libelled, had no other resource—that he did not doubt but that an English jury would give the first consul satisfaction if he chose to proceed against Peltier by law. The first consul, who could not or would not conceive that our government had not the same power over newspapers which he had over his 'Moniteur,' and the same power to treat journalists as he had treated them by scores, and by hundreds, intimated that nothing less

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would satisfy him than the suppression of 'L'Ambigu,' and the deportation of Peltier. There was assuredly, at this moment (in the summer of 1802), no want of a conciliatory tone on the part of our ministers. Lord Hawkesbury went so far as to say in a note to M. Otto, that it was "impossible that his majesty's government could peruse the articles in question without the greatest displeasure, and without an anxious desire that the person who published them should suffer the punishment he so justly deserved." Finding it beyond the reach of his might or persuasion to make our government arbitrarily suppress 'L'Ambigu,' and transport its editor, the first consul instructed his ambassador at London to urge that government to institute proceedings in our courts of law. His eagerness for vengeance on a poor refugee scribbler made him reject Addington's very sensible advice. He would fain have precipitated the trial, but he could not change the routine of our lawyers' terms and sessions. At last, on the 21st of February, 1803, the trial came on in the Court of Queen's Bench, before Lord Chief Justice Ellenborough, and a special jury. The information had been filed by his majesty's attorney-general *ex-officio*, and stated "that peace existed between Napoleon Bonaparte and our Lord the King; that M. J. J. Peltier, intending to destroy the friendship so existing, and to despoil the said Napoleon Bonaparte of his consular dignity, did devise, print, and publish in the French language to the tenor following," &c. The attorney-general conducted the prosecution. It was every way a happy choice by which Peltier selected for his counsel the able and animated Mackintosh. The subject had much that was inspiring, the contrast of condition between the real prosecutor, the master of the greatest empire which the civilized world had yet seen, and the defendant, a poor friendless outcast, was striking and dramatic; Mackintosh, in the prime vigour of his faculties, had exerted them all in praiseworthy preparation, and he was warmed and encouraged in the delivery of his forensic oration by the presence of a crowded and enlightened audience. He called that English law-court

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his client's last asylum upon earth; he applauded the honourable and dignified conduct of ministers in refusing to violate the sacred hospitality due to an unfortunate stranger, who now appeared in that court as the only place in which his prosecutor and he could be upon equal terms; he flattered the honourable pride of the jury by saying for his client that the most refreshing prospect his eye could rest upon was a just, impartial, and fearless English jury—that he felt, with him, gratitude to the ruler of empires that, after the wreck of everything else ancient and venerable in Europe—the wreck of all established forms and acknowledged principles, of all long-subsisting laws and sacred institutions—Englishmen were met there to-day administering justice after the manner of their forefathers. He represented this cause as the first of a series of contests with the freedom of the press which Bonaparte was determined to carry on in the only country where the press was free; and he called upon his countrymen to pause before the great earthquake swallowed up all the liberty that remained among men. Holland, Switzerland, and the imperial towns of Germany, had once participated with us in the benefit of a free press. Holland and Switzerland were now no more, and near fifty of the free imperial towns had vanished since the commencement of this prosecution. Every press in Europe from Palermo to Hamburg was now enslaved: and here he electrified the court by exclaiming, "One asylum of free discussion is still inviolate! There is still one little spot where man can freely exercise his reason on the most important concerns of society—where he can boldly publish his judgment on the acts of the proudest and most powerful tyrants. The press of England is still free. It is guarded by the free constitution of our forefathers. It is guarded by the arms and hearts of Englishmen; and I trust I may venture to say, that if it be to fall it will fall only under the ruins of the British empire. It is an awful consideration. Every other monument of European liberty has perished. That ancient fabric, which has been gradually reared by the wisdom and virtue of our forefathers, still stands: it

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stands, thanks be to God! solid and entire; but it stands alone, and it stands amidst ruins."

The attorney-general (Spencer Perceval) replied, Lord Ellenborough summed up, and the jury returned a reluctant verdict of Guilty. But, before Peltier could be called up for judgment, the war was renewed, and he was let off scatheless. He had in the mean time published the report of the trial, with Mackintosh's defence at full length, as revised by the author. Numerous copies of it were smuggled into the Continent, and from one of these Necker's famed daughter, Madame de Staël, made a spirited translation into French, which ran throughout Europe like an unquenchable Greek fire. It gave a better reason for the renewal of hostilities than any that our diplomatists put into their protocols and ultimatums; it showed to the civilized world the real stake for which England was fighting; it did more mischief to Bonaparte than he would have suffered from the defeat of an army or from the destruction of a fleet. It could not but fill him with rage and animosity. He, the master of Europe, had been bearded by a penniless pamphleteer, and an advocate whose fortune was all to make; and this could have been done in England, and England alone. Again he poured forth rhapsodies against that accursed liberty of the press which allowed little men to meddle with great, and against that British constitution which sanctioned such excesses, or prevented their being punished with arbitrary transportation, or captivity, without a trial, in secret state-prisons. The 'Moniteur' became more violent and abusive than ever;—from this moment war was declared in the first consul's heart,—from this moment the secret countenance and encouragement he had given, since the peace, to the Irish refugees and malcontents, became an open and barefaced protection.

If there be one historical fact clearer than another, it is that Bonaparte was resolved on renewing the war with Great Britain. His one predominant idea was, that his existence depended on an extension of his conquests. "My power," he would say, "depends on my glory,

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and my glory on my victories. My power would fall if I did not support it by fresh glory and new victories. Conquest has made me what I am, and conquest alone can maintain me. A newly-born government, like mine, must dazzle and astonish. When it ceases to do that, it falls!" If he had wished to prolong the truce of Amiens for a season, it was only because he wished to be the more fully prepared for war, and to be enabled to work out some of his great projects in the interval.

On receipt of the speech with which King George had opened the session of parliament, the first consul gave way to a paroxysm of rage; and his passion was not moderated by the reception of the debates in both Houses which followed the opening speech. Talleyrand, who never was in a passion in his life, conferred with our ambassador. He declared the astonishment of his master at the king's message, and at the very unfriendly debates, and asked what was the meaning of those violent attacks of the English press against the government and person of the first consul? Lord Whitworth went over the old ground, saying that whatever was published in the English papers might be considered as a national retaliation for what was published in the French papers; that in France these attacks were published *officially*, which was by no means the case in England; and that, although the French government possessed a control over the press in France, the English government neither had nor could have such a control in their country. "But at least," rejoined Talleyrand, "your government can execute the treaty of Amiens, and evacuate Malta!" Lord Whitworth replied that that evacuation was now connected with other circumstances, and with other clauses of the treaty which had been infringed by France. A few days after this the two diplomatists had another conference. Lord Whitworth recapitulated all the principles on which the treaty of Amiens was founded, and the right which arose from those principles of interference on the part of Great Britain, for the purpose of obtaining satisfaction or compensation for any essential differences which might have arisen in the rela-

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tive situation of the two countries. He instanced the cases, beginning with Italy and concluding with Switzerland, in which the territory or influence of France had been greatly extended subsequently to the treaty of Amiens.

In spite of the advice of his most able minister for foreign affairs, who thought little of his diplomacy except when expressed by a hundred thousand bayonets, and who feared that the passionate part of his temperament would carry him into some indiscretions, Bonaparte determined to confer personally with the English ambassador; and Talleyrand had scarcely left him ere his lordship was informed that the first consul wished to converse with him at the Tuileries at nine o'clock that night. It has been conjectured, and it may indeed be assumed as a certain fact, that this irregular and unseemly obtrusion into the department of Talleyrand proceeded from a design to shake the resolution of the British ambassador, and to astound or terrify him by a display of rude violence, which had succeeded with the Austrian diplomatist at Campo Formio. But England had not been humbled and crushed like Austria, and Lord Whitworth was not Count Cobentzel. Perceiving that these menaces did not disturb the equanimity of Lord Whitworth, the first consul altered his tone. If the British government and he could only agree and act together, what might they not do? Look at the natural force of the two countries—France with an army of 480,000 men, and England with a fleet which made her the mistress of the seas, and which he thought he should not be able to equal in less than ten years. Two such countries, by a proper understanding, might govern the world, as their strifes might overturn it. If England could only come to this understanding, there was nothing that he would not do to gratify her. Participation in indemnities, as well as in influence on the Continent, treaties of commerce, in short every thing that could testify friendship, he would give to her. As little moved by his cajolery as by his threats, Whitworth, when allowed to speak, calmly said that the king, his master, had no wish to participate in the conquest and spoils of

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the Continent, had no ambition to acquire more territory, but only to preserve what he had. Bonaparte had said in public as well as in private, and to the ambassadors of foreign powers as well as to his own subjects, that England was unequal to a single-handed contest with France; and he gave Lord Whitworth to understand that, without allies, we could never touch him. To this his lordship replied, that if his Britannic majesty was so desirous of peace, it must not be imputed to the difficulty of obtaining allies. Lord Whitworth was as patient as he was firm; he did not give up negotiating until it was altogether hopeless; he rebuked with calm dignity the vulgar intemperance of the first consul, who offered him a public insult at the levée in the Tuileries on the 13th of March; he did not take his departure until the 12th of May, and *then* he left behind him, in the hands of Mr. Talbot, the secretary of embassy, who was to remain at Paris a few days longer, the project of a convention which England would take as the basis of a definitive and amicable arrangement. What Bonaparte did after his lordship's departure was to order that Mr. Talbot should be detained as a prisoner of war.

Notwithstanding the time which had been gained by Bonaparte, the order of council for granting reprisals and letters of marque, and the proclamation for an embargo, which were issued two days after Lord Whitworth's return, led to the immediate detention or capture of about 200 French and Dutch vessels. To retaliate for this customary procedure, the first consul had recourse to a most novel and unprecedented outrage: by a decree, dated the 22nd of May, he ordered that all the English, of whatsoever condition, found on the territory of France, should be detained prisoners of war, on the pretence that many of them belonged to the militia. Nothing could exceed the harshness or the brutality with which this order was executed in Paris, where there was still a vast number of travellers, many of whom were merely passing through that capital on their way homeward from Italy, Switzerland, and other countries:—whole families were seized together, as if the wives

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and daughters of the English aristocracy and gentry were militia officers. Even the character and ancient acknowledged rights of ambassadors were set at nought. These sweeping arrests were not confined to the English that were actually on the territory of France; they were extended to Italy and every neighbouring country where the French had an armed force, or where they could intimidate and give the law. As no distinction had been made as to sex, so none was made as to condition, profession, or pursuits. Clergymen, a venerable Indian judge (Sir Elijah Impey), men of letters or science, artists, all were captured. What made this odious seizure still more odious, was the fact that on the eve of its taking place, Bonaparte made a renegade Englishman, whom he retained in his service to write a newspaper in the English language, insert in the columns of his journal that the English travellers on the Continent, in France, Belgium, Holland, or Italy, had nothing to fear; that their persons would be guaranteed under the protection of a government which protected the laws of nations even while England was violating them. About 10,000 British subjects of nearly every class and condition remained in Bonaparte's clutches.

Before the English government began to seize the French and Dutch ships, a French army was collected on the frontiers of Holland to pounce upon the comparatively defenceless hereditary dominions of the king of England; and, as soon as the declaration of war was issued, General Mortier advanced into the heart of the Electorate. The Duke of Cambridge, who was residing at Hanover, seeing that resistance was altogether hopeless, and that most of the larger towns were determined to treat with the French general, entered into a negotiation at the end of May, and engaged to surrender the territory upon condition that his army should be permitted to retire unbroken behind the Elbe, with the pledge on their part that they would not again serve in the field against the French during this war. Deputies from the principal towns treated separately with Mortier, and agreed to conditions of surrender and submission on

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the 3rd of June. The English ministers advised the king not to ratify the treaty which his son had made. Upon this Mortier, who had entered and taken possession of the city of Hanover on the 5th of June, called upon the Hanoverian army to surrender, or abide the consequences of an attack by overwhelming forces behind the Elbe. The Duke of Cambridge had quitted the country, but Count Walmoden, the commander-in-chief of that small but fine army, was compelled to agree to a convention on the 5th of July, and to dismount his cavalry, surrender his arms, and disband and dismiss the whole army. More than 500 pieces of artillery, a large quantity of ammunition and timber, and an immense number of horses, fit to remount Bonaparte's ill-conditioned cavalry, fell into the hands of Mortier, who, besides, levied military contributions in the country. Being in the immediate neighbourhood of the rich commercial Hanse towns of Hamburg and Bremen, he levied considerable sums of money upon them also, without the least regard to their independence and neutrality; and other sums, very important to the first consul, whose finances were in an embarrassed condition, were raised among the Jews and other capitalists of those Hanse Towns, by way of loan. What was still worse as regarded England, the French, by their occupation of Hanover, were enabled to close the navigation of the rivers Elbe and Weser, and to prevent British merchant vessels from going up either to Hamburg or to Bremen. As the neighbouring German states made no attempt to prevent the conquest or occupation of Hanover, a country which, though the hereditary possession of the King of Great Britain, was still an integral part of the German empire, with indefeasible claims to the protection of the whole Germanic League, and as the English were prevented from ascending the rivers, it was determined that neither German nor any other ships should descend them or enter them; and the mouths of the Elbe and the Weser were soon strictly blockaded by British squadrons. With their trade thus completely cut off, with the French armies in their close neighbourhood, perpetually

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threatening them with military violence and exaction, the two great Hanse Towns were reduced to a deplorable situation. In the extremity of their distress they called upon the King of Prussia as guarantee and protector of the neutrality of the North of Germany; but the shuffling and selfish court of Berlin, whose self-seeking was to end in self-destruction, had entered into the views of Bonaparte, in the hope and expectation of annexing Hanover to Prussia; and, accordingly, that cabinet refused to interfere, thus virtually abandoning not only Hamburg and Bremen, with their industrious and lately thriving dependencies, but all the smaller states of the North of Germany to the rapacity and lawlessness of the French invaders.

Nor was it only in the north of Europe that the first consul had matured his means of attack before the declaration of war, and that he now made that attack with a contempt for other treaties, which were affected by neither the observance nor the breach of the peace of Amiens. His Sicilian majesty was no party to the treaty of Amiens; the integrity of his dominions and the withdrawal from them of all French troops whatsoever, were stipulated for in a previous and separate treaty with the French government, and had been paid for, in various ways, at an enormous expense. But the court of Naples was the old friend and ally of Great Britain; the country, ravaged and despoiled by successive revolutions and invasions as it had been, was still rich; its ports, on the Mediterranean and on the Adriatic, offered admirable points of departure for expeditions to various countries which Bonaparte coveted: from Brindisi, near the mouth of the Adriatic, to Corfu and the other Ionian islands, of which he had determined to possess himself, was but a few hours' sail; and for these and other special and weighty reasons, inclusive of the plan of excluding British commerce from the continent, he poured his troops once more into the devoted kingdom of Naples.

But it was nearer at home that the consequences of Bonaparte's manœuvres and preparations during the peace

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were most shamefully exhibited, or most seriously felt by England. So soon as the mask began to fall off, he called to Paris all the fugitive or disaffected Irish on the continent; he re-organised the Irish brigade, giving it the name of the Irish Legion; and by means of his so-called commercial agents, and of Irish clubbists in Dublin, Cork, and other towns, he carried on that active correspondence to which we have already alluded, and matured the plots for an insurrection, which at one time he confidently hoped would extend to a universal civil war. One of his most active emissaries was one Quigley, or O'Quigley, who had been outlawed in 1798, and who since that period had resided in France. This man came over secretly, and apparently with a well-filled purse. He perambulated Kildare, his native county, proselytising and making converts with cash and whiskey. But, far above Quigley, and the real head of the conspiracy, was Mr. Robert Emmett, the son of Dr. Emmett, the court or castle physician of Dublin, whose recent death had put him in possession of 2000*l.* or 3000*l.* (a sum he proposed to employ in the subversion of the British government), and brother to that Emmett who had been mercifully let off with banishment for the overt acts of treason he had committed in 1798. This young man (he was only in his twenty-second or twenty-third year) had gone crazy with a revolutionary and republican enthusiasm, and had neither been cured nor made more moderate by that wretched exhibition, the termination of republicanism in France. As he spent his money freely, he proselytised with some effect in Dublin; but it cannot be said that his proselytes were of a very elevated condition: the chief and very highest of them were one Dowdall, who, before the Union, had held some inferior office about the Irish House of Commons; one Redmond, who called himself a merchant, and who appears to have been little more than a huckster; and one Allen, a bankrupt woollen-manufacturer. While Emmett worked in Dublin and its neighbourhood, an individual of more mature age, and who laboured under the influences of a different or a

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more complicated insanity—religious enthusiasm being, in his case, mixed with the political—preached and laboured at Belfast, and in other towns of the north of Ireland. This was Thomas Russel, an old half-pay officer in the king's service, who had fought against the Americans at Bunker's Hill, and who, since his retirement, had turned a weak brain by the study of polemical divinity, and the attempt to understand and apply the prophecies of the Old Testament and the mysteries of the Apocalypse. Other chiefs of less name or note were scattered over Ireland; and material assistance was expected from one Dwyer, a fellow of infinite cunning and activity, who had been "out" in the rebellion of 1798, and who, at the head of a formidable band of outlaws, had maintained himself ever since among the almost inaccessible fastnesses of the Wicklow mountains. Dwyer was ready for anything, and believed to be fit for everything:—his lawless band, and the semi-barbarous Wicklow peasantry, over whom he exercised a wide control or influence, were fully prepared to commit every atrocity. It appears to have been fully proved that Emmett made overtures to this Dwyer—to this leader of a ferocious horde; but it is not quite so certain that the devout Russel corresponded with him. They determined to begin with seizing the arsenals and the Castle of Dublin. Various circumstances pointed out the 23rd of July as the best day of all the year for beginning; it fell this year on a Saturday, when the working people of the capital received their wages and got drunk, and when the ordinary resort of country-people to the market would, by itself, cover and let pass a somewhat extraordinary meeting: Emmett's resolution was, therefore, confirmed, that "the rising" should be on St. James's eve. Towards evening on the appointed 23rd of July the rabble of Dublin and the peasantry began to collect in vast numbers in St. James's-street and its neighbourhood. The castle was within a mile, and the barracks, containing 2000 or 3000 soldiers, were within half a mile of the spot; but not a soldier, not an officer either civil or military, made his appearance. About

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dusk the concerted signal that all was ready was given by some men who were mounted on horseback, and who rode furiously through the principal streets of the capital. A Mr. Clarke, an opulent manufacturer, made a bold attempt to reason with the furious mob, and, finding his efforts ineffectual, he galloped to the castle and warned the lord-lieutenant. As he was returning, a blunderbuss was fired at him, and he fell desperately, though not mortally, wounded. This was the first blood that was shed, but it was soon followed by more. Just as Clarke fell, some of the insurgents fired a small cannon, and sent up a sky-rocket; and immediately after this signal, Emmett sallied forth from his depôt, at the head of his central committee, and drawing his sword, incited the mob to action. They all rushed along the street as if intending to attack the castle. Before they got to the end of the street Colonel Brown, a meritorious officer, who was hastening to his post, was deliberately shot dead by a blunderbuss. Disgusted at these and other cold-blooded murders, at the savage cries that were raised for vengeance and plunder, at the backwardness of his rabble-rout to press on to the castle or to any point where they were likely to meet the soldiery, and at their alacrity in breaking open houses and calling for whiskey, Emmett and his staff, after some fruitless attempts to manage and direct the foul hurricane they had raised, disappeared from the scene, and stole out of the town. Emmett's mob-generalship scarcely lasted half an hour. The head of the advancing column never approached the castle nearer than Francis-street, which is distant about half a mile. Unfortunately Lord Kilwarden, the Lord Chief Justice of Ireland, passed in the rear of the mob, flying in his carriage by another line of streets towards the castle. This judge had been Attorney-General at the time of the last rebellion. The ruffians wheeled round and presently fell upon him. He was accompanied in the same carriage by his daughter and a nephew. They were all three dragged out of the coach; the savages spared the lady, but they murdered her aged father and

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her cousin before her eyes. But by this time some of the troops were under arms and ready to march. When about 150 men, headed by two subaltern officers, reached the top of Francis-street, the disordered rabble, many thousands strong, set up a scream of terror, and all that were sober enough to run, ran off at the top of their speed. But many fell and were made prisoners, and a party of fifty soldiers, who had got into the rear of the flying column, fired upon it as it passed. A lane strewed with pikes pointed out the way to Emmett's depôt, wherein were found a large quantity of ball-cartridges, hand-grenades, gunpowder, more pikes, some military uniforms, and a proclamation, wet from the press, of persons styling themselves "The Provisional Government," and containing a sketch of the constitution they had proposed giving to the "Hibernian Republic." A hot pursuit was instantly commenced after these legislators, who showed as much folly or fatuity, when flying for their lives, as they had displayed in all the rest of the business. Emmett and his friends reached the Wicklow mountains, but only to find that they were shunned like men that had the plague, and that none would raise a finger for them, or give them food and a hiding-place. Quitting his companions Emmett returned to Dublin, but only to be tracked by the police, to be seized and committed to the prison which was already crowded by the miserable wretches he had armed. Dowdall and Allen escaped out of the island, but Redmond was arrested at one of the ports as he was about to take his passage for America. In the meanwhile Russel had utterly failed in his attempts at a rising in the north; and, after issuing a proclamation, in which he styled himself the General of the Northern District, he had disappeared. After the arrest of Emmett, Russel stole into Dublin; two or three days after his arrival he was discovered and seized. He was sent for trial to that northern district of which he had intended to be the revolutionary general. Emmett was put upon his trial for high treason on the 19th of September, in Dublin, the scene of his mad pranks, where there were

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too many witnesses to speak to his overt acts, and too universal an indignation at the sanguinary result of them, to allow any, the remotest, chance of his escaping the gallows and the block. He died with much courage or composure, declaring himself a member of the Church of England. The undoubted Protestantism of him, of Russel, and others, totally disqualified them from heading a popular insurrection in Ireland. Redmond (one of the central committee) and two working men (one of whom confessed to the murder of Colonel Brown) were tried and executed in the same town. Russel was tried at Carrickfergus on the 20th of October. He quoted the prophecies and the Apocalypse, pleaded that his religious conscience had compelled him to endeavour to overthrow the existing government, and gave ample indications of a disordered mind; but he was nevertheless executed at Downpatrick. Some short time after these executions O'Quigley and Stafford were apprehended in the county of Galway; but government, who displayed throughout this unhappy affair an uncommon degree of leniency, were satisfied with the examples which had been made; and the lives of these two chiefs, and of a host of inferior and untried prisoners, were spared on their making a full disclosure of all the circumstances of their treason.

Ireland was safe, and England could not be invaded, for her fleets swept the Channel and the French coast in all its extent, blockading the principal ports, and occasionally bombarding a sea-port town or two. Ships and gun-boats were gallantly cut out of Hâvre, St. Valéry, and many other ports and roadsteads; the batteries that protected the town of Dieppe were knocked to pieces; many vessels, both national and mercantile, were burnt on the stocks, and the important town of Granville was bombarded and burned under the eyes of Bonaparte's generals, and almost in his own presence. With nearly six hundred ships of war at sea, England, besides holding the Channel, and defending her own coasts, could despatch fleets and squadrons to every quarter of the globe, and prosecute extensive schemes of conquest.

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In the East Indies war was carried on by land on an immense scale, and with signal success. The power of Mysore had been annihilated by the capture of Seringapatam and the death of Tippoo. But a new and formidable enemy to the English had started up in the Mahratta confederacy; and a clever Frenchman was lending the aid of his military knowledge and genius to these Hindoos. M. Perron had first come to the country as a petty officer of a ship with Admiral Suffrein, in the year 1782, when the government of Louis XVI. was making a desperate struggle with the genius and resources of Warren Hastings for the supremacy in Hindostan. Since then he had risen rapidly. If the first consul could have put himself in communication with this adventurer, and could have forwarded him some encouragement and support, Perron had abilities, and now occupied a position, which might have proved very dangerous to the British power in India; although it does not appear that Perron had either much regard for Bonaparte or much nationality. It was thought that his leading passion was a love of money. When General Lake took the field with an army of 10,500 men, to co-operate with which force 3500 men were assembled near Allahabad, and about 2000 at Mirzapoor, the Governor-General had instructed him to make every possible effort to destroy and scatter, or *win over*, Perron's brigades. That adventurer took the field with 16,000 or 17,000 infantry disciplined in the European manner, a large body of irregular infantry, from 15,000 to 20,000 Mahratta horse, and a numerous and well-appointed train of artillery. Moreover the powerful Rajah of Berar joined the confederacy, which was the more dangerous from Scindiah being possessed of several convenient sea-ports through which he could receive assistance, if any should be sent him from France, and as, conformably to the treaty of Amiens, the French had then just recovered their Indian possessions. But the confederacy was very soon shattered by Major-General Wellesley and General Lake, by the splendid victories of Assaye, Delhi, and Laswarree; Perron's

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brigades were destroyed, numerous fortresses were stormed and taken, and the humbled Mahrattas agreed never again to take any Frenchman into their service. The seat of war had extended nearly all over the continent of India, and had exhibited, in the short space of four months, four general battles, and eight sieges and stormings of fortresses. The armies which Wellington had fought at Assaye and Argaum, and which Lake had fought at Delhi and Laswarree, were not what Indian armies had been in the days of Clive and Coote, but admirably officered, well trained and disciplined, most abundantly supplied with a well-served artillery, and capable of contending with most of the armies of Europe.

The signal successes of the year 1803 gave to the British empire other advantages besides the acquisition of the Mahratta dominions between the Jumna and the Ganges: they secured, by the possession of Delhi, Agra, and Calpee, the mastery and free navigation of the Jumna, with an important tract of country along the right bank of that river; they gave us the greater part of the rich province of Bundelcund, the whole of Cuttack in Orissa, and the most valuable territory in Guzerat, with valuable ports which were before accessible to the enemy—our mortal enemy, France,—thereby securing the navigation along that immense coast, from the mouths of the Ganges to the mouth of the Indus; and, furthermore, they gave to the Company a stronger frontier in the Deccan, and to our allies, the Nizam and the Peishwa, an important accession of strength.

A.D. 1804. — Parliament had scarcely re-assembled after the Christmas recess ere it was known that the king was suffering under an attack of his old malady. On the 14th of February it was publicly announced, by an official bulletin issued at the palace of St. James's, that his majesty was much indisposed; and a succession of similar notices, notwithstanding the customary obscurity of the language, left little doubt as to the serious nature of the complaint. The intelligence carried grief, not altogether unmixed with dismay, throughout the country,

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for, to the great bulk of the people, George III. was still the "good old king;" his popularity had increased with his years and his misfortunes, and with the costly exertions made in this war; and, from the popular faith in his high English spirit, in his fortitude and decision, it was felt that he was in a manner necessary to the defence and safety of the country, which was still threatened with invasion, and could see from her own coasts the mighty preparations that Bonaparte continued to make. The dismay was the greater from the very general conviction that the Addington administration was inadequate to the crisis. Perhaps a similar conviction in the king's own mind had mainly contributed to his present attack. He had hitherto clung to Addington, not because he considered his spirit and abilities comparable with those of Pitt, but because he knew him to be averse to the granting of that Catholic emancipation which always alarmed his own conscience, and presented itself to his excited mind as a monstrous concession which would be equally perilous to the temporal and spiritual welfare of his line and of his country. To these state and *religious* anxieties were added numerous inquietudes of a domestic nature, and other uneasinesses—in which, however, despondency as to the spirit and resources of the country, or fear of the French legions that were collected on the opposite side of the Channel, most assuredly had no place. There was not a man in Great Britain more insensible of fear than George III., or that looked with a more constant assurance to the triumph of his countrymen, if an invading force should, by some unforeseen chance, be enabled to land, and to the eventual and not distant downfall of Napoleon Bonaparte. His religious convictions, which were even stronger than his patriotic sentiments, ever kept uppermost in his mind the belief that a system which had arisen out of atheism and immorality, and which had been established by violence and injustice, must soon fall and disappear. But his other anxieties were numerous and acute; and perhaps none of them affected him more than the unhappy separation of his

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eldest son and his niece and daughter-in-law the Princess of Wales, attended, as it was, with perennial scandals and perpetual public comment.

On the 27th of February, twelve days after the first public notification of the king's illness, a bulletin appeared announcing that his majesty was much better, and on the 14th of March the Lord Chancellor declared that "the king was in such a state as to warrant the lords commissioners in giving the royal assent to several bills." On the 9th and 10th of May, and again on the 11th of May, the day before Pitt's re-appointment as premier, his majesty showed himself to the inhabitants of the metropolis, driving through the principal streets of London and Westminster, accompanied by the queen and the princesses. If he could derive comfort and consolation from the loud and hearty congratulations of the people, materials for it were not wanting. The eyes of his daughters were seen streaming with happy tears.

It was now reported that Pitt, Fox, and the Grenvilles had coalesced. Pitt assured his confidential friends that he was resolved never to hamper himself in that way, and, in effect, with neither Fox nor Grenville did Pitt think of allying himself. With Fox such an engagement was impossible; and Pitt well knew that, except in the last extremity, the king would never again admit Fox into the cabinet. At the same time it was evident that the Addington ministry could not stand. The Easter recess suspended for a short time the rising strife of parties; but when Parliament met again on the 5th of April, things at once assumed a most hostile aspect. The way in which the defences of the country had been provided for, and the way in which the navy had been managed, were severely criticised; and in these criticisms Pitt, as well as Windham, joined. Some fruitless attempts were made to induce Pitt, the Grenvilles, and the men who had already assumed to themselves the title of "all the talents," to serve under Addington. On the 12th of May it was publicly announced that Addington had resigned, and that Pitt had been appointed to succeed him. Of the Addington ministry Pitt retained the

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Duke of Portland, president of the council; Lord Eldon, chancellor; the Earl of Westmoreland, lord privy seal; the Earl of Chatham (his own brother), master-general of the ordnance; and Lord Castlereagh, now president of the board of control. He brought in with him Lords Melville, Harrowby, and Camden; Melville taking the post of first lord of the admiralty, in lieu of Lord Hawkesbury; and Camden that of secretary for the colonies, in lieu of Lord Hobart. He made Lord Mulgrave chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, with a seat in the cabinet, instead of Lord Pelham. But Mr. Canning, the ablest and most eloquent of all his adherents, was left to the inferior situation of treasurer of the navy, which had been occupied by Tierney, and which did not give a seat in the cabinet. The government of Ireland was left unchanged under the lord-lieutenancy of Lord Hardwicke. On the whole, a majority of the late cabinet ministers were retained, and formed a majority also of the present administration.

At the time when Pitt returned to office any the shortest interruption to the activity of the executive might have proved very fatal to the country; and at the same time any prolonged exciting discussion might have reduced the king to a worse state than that he had so recently been in. Patriotism, therefore, as well as common humanity, might well prevent Pitt from urging any stipulations in favour of the Catholics, or from bargaining with the king for that Catholic emancipation, the refusal of which he had assigned as the cause of his resignation in 1801.

The Grenvilles, who knew that no strong ministry could be made *without* Pitt, were determined to prove that no strong ministry could be made *without them;* and they now joined their ill-humour with the party vehemence of Fox.

On the 30th of May, Wilberforce, who had been labouring in his vocation session after session, and without making any material progress for a good many years past—that is, in parliament, for in the country he had obtained many converts—moved for the appointment of

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a committee to consider the propriety of introducing a bill for the abolition of the slave trade, after a time to be limited. Addington considered that it would be utterly impracticable to carry into execution any bill founded upon such views as Wilberforce had adopted, and therefore opposed the motion. But both Pitt and Fox voted for Wilberforce; and upon a division the motion was carried by 75 against 49. A bill framed for the abolition was brought into the House, and was read a second time, on the 7th of June, after a long discussion. Wilberforce's majority was now much increased, the number voting for the second reading being 100 against 42. Through the pressure of other business, and the lateness of the season, the bill, after the motion for its being committed had been carried by 79 against 20, was postponed to the next session.

But little other business of any importance was transacted in parliament during the short remainder of this session. The budget had been discussed before Pitt's reinstatement. The total supplies granted were—for the navy 12,350,606*l.*—for the army 12,993,625*l.*—for the militia and fencible corps 6,159,114*l.*—for the ordnance 3,737,091*l.*—for miscellaneous services 4,217,295*l.*—for *extra* miscellaneous services (relating solely to Ireland) 2,500,000*l.*—for discharging arrears and debts on the civil list 591,742*l.*—for an additional yearly sum, out of the consolidated fund, for the better support of his Majesty's household, 60,000*l.*—or a grand whole of 53,609,574*l.*! To raise this money recourse was had to new taxes and duties, to loans and annuities, and to three lotteries. The king was well enough to go down to the House of Lords and prorogue parliament in person on the 31st of July.

The coasts of France, both on the Mediterranean and on the ocean, were again insulted and disturbed by British fleets and squadrons, while, in the more remote seas, other colonies belonging to her or to her dependency, the Batavian republic, were rapidly captured.

The French admiral Linois, who had reached Pondicherry, and who had been enabled to escape from that

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roadstead, finding he could do no good to M. Perron in the Mahratta war, hoped to do some mischief to the English by picking up a few of their stray Indiamen. He had captured several of these ships, and had plundered the English factory at Bencoolen, when, on the 15th of February, he fell in with a rich fleet of East-Indiamen and country ships that were coming from China, and on the point of entering the Straits of Malacca. As Linois had with him a ship of the line, three frigates, and a brig, and as our merchant-vessels had no men-of-war to convoy them, he made quite sure of an easy swoop and of an immense prize. But, by this time, the Company's ships were generally armed and well officered; and Captain (afterwards, by grace of this action, Sir N.) Dance, who was acting as commodore to the fleet of traders, was both an able and a brave sailor. Dance, finidng that the enemy were proposing to cut off his rear, made the signal to tack and bear down on them, and engage in succession. This manœuvre was executed by three of the Indiamen; and the rest stood towards Linois under a press of sail. The French then formed in very close line, and opened their fire on Dance's headmost ships, which did not return it until they got to closer quarters. After a smart action of forty minutes, and before half of the Indiamen could come up and engage, the enemy stood away to the eastward, under all the sail they could carry. Dance pursued Linois until 4 P.M.; when, considering the immense property at stake, and fearing that a longer pursuit would carry him too far from the mouth of the Straits of Malacca, the gallant commodore of this well-conducted merchant fleet made the signal to tack; and, the signal being well obeyed, by eight in the evening they all anchored safely in a situation to enter the Strait the next morning. Nothing more was seen of Linois, who, according to his own account, had run away through fear of being surrounded.

In declaring war against France, the British government had included Holland, but had not included Spain, which country, although not actually occupied by French

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arms, was almost as much under French influence and dictation as was the so-styled Batavian republic. Intelligence having been received in London that an armament was fitting out in the Spanish port of Ferrol, that a considerable Spanish force was already collected there, and that French troops were expected to join them, the Admiralty immediately dispatched a squadron to cruise off Cadiz, to intercept and capture four Spanish frigates known to be bound to that port from Monte Video, with an immense quantity of specie on board. The commodore of this squadron was Captain Graham Moore, the amiable and gallant brother of General Sir John Moore; he carried his flag in the 'Indefatigable,' 44-gun frigate, and was accompanied only by three other lighter frigates. On the 5th of October the four British frigates discovered, near Cape Santa Maria, the four expected Spanish frigates, which were under the command of Don José Bustamente, and which were carrying all sail to get into Cadiz Bay, now so near at hand. A lieutenant having returned with an unsatisfactory answer, an action began. In a few minutes one of the Spanish frigates, the 'Mercedes,' blew up, and only her second captain and about forty of her crew were saved. The rest of the Spaniards successively, and soon, struck their flags. The value of the cargoes captured netted very little short of a million sterling; and this was considered as so much kept from the exchequer of Bonaparte. A deep domestic tragedy cast an additional cloud over this very questionable proceeding. Captain Alvear had embarked in the 'Mercedes,' carrying with him his wife, four daughters, and five grown-up sons, and a fortune estimated at about 30,000*l.* sterling, the gradual savings of thirty years' toil in South America Not many minutes before the battle began, Alvear and his eldest son went on board the Spanish admiral's frigate, and from its deck they witnessed the awful explosion of the 'Mercedes,' with the destruction not only of their fortune, but of all who were dearest to them. The British government restored to Captain Alvear, out of the proceeds of the three cargoes, the 30,000*l.* which he had lost, but they could not bid the ocean restore its dead.

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Those who concurred in the expediency doubted the right of detaining these ships; and even those who defended the legality of the act could not help casting severe censure on the English Admiralty for not having sent—instead of a force very little more than equal to that of the Spaniards—such a formidable force as would have allowed Bustamente to submit at once, without an appeal to arms, and without an impeachment of his honour. The transaction created a great stir at Madrid, where a party decidedly hostile to Bonaparte had previously been forming and gathering some strength. On the 27th of November, an order was issued to make reprisals on English property; and on the 12th of December the King of Spain put forth his formal declaration of war against Great Britain.

Bonaparte knew he had converted nearly all the leaders of the republican party, by arguments addressed to their own interest and aggrandisement; he saw daily the men who had made republican constitutions and declarations of the rights of man, and manifestoes of liberty and equality, and forms of oaths against all monarchic government, taking his pay, cringing at his feet, and writing his praise; but he felt that there were still some fanatics whom he could neither buy nor reach; and now and then, notwithstanding the slavery in which he held the press, a republican article would appear, and produce, in some of the corners and by-places of France, an impression and a sympathy which seemed to prove that the spirit of Jacobinism was not altogether extinct. Hence the journals were placed under still greater restrictions. The nocturnal arrests, and the mysterious deportations to lonely fortresses on the remote sea-coasts, or among the Jura mountains, the Pyrenees, and the Alps, had continued to increase all through the year 1803; but the Consular Reign of Terror, as it is called, was principally confined to the period which intervened between the month of October of that year and the month of April, 1804.

The only man in France that Bonaparte feared singly was Moreau, whose military reputation was second only to his own, who was warmly beloved by the soldiers who had served under him, and who had frankly shown a de-

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cided aversion to the despotic system of government which the first consul was so rapidly building up. With Moreau once in his clutches, or with materials and charges wherewith to discredit him in the eyes of the soldiery and the people, he calculated that the throne he was erecting would be firm and safe. His secret police well knew these not secret thoughts, and they acted conformably. The republican hero of Hohenlinden was accused of conspiring with General Pichegru, Georges-Cadoudal, the two Polignacs, and other royalists; and he was arrested on the 15th of February. Many other arrests took place at the same time, and some of the prisoners were threatened with, if not actually subjected to, torture, in order to extract confessions from them, or to induce them to confess whatsoever the secret police might wish. Some of these victims had been lured to Paris by the very agents of the police who now gave a false character to their proceedings and intentions. But even evidence thus extracted failed to make out any present case of plot or conspiracy.

Monsieur, or Louis XVIII., was out of Bonaparte's reach, and living under the Emperor of Russia's protection at Warsaw; his brother, the Count d'Artois, his nephew, the Duke de Berri, and the other princes of his family, were safe in London, unless that invasion could be achieved of which there seemed no present probability. But, close on the French frontiers, and within the grasp of a night-marching corps of gendarmes-à-cheval, was a young Bourbon prince, and the bravest and most interesting, if not the best, living member of that somewhat degenerate race. Louis-Antoine-Henri de Bourbon, Duke d'Enghien, who was born at Chantilly, in August, 1772, was the son of the Duke of Bourbon and grandson of the Prince of Condé; being a lateral branch of the then reigning family of France. He had served under his grandfather in the emigrant army that fought in the Netherlands and on the Rhine against the Jacobin republicans, and had displayed not only a high and romantic personal courage, but a degree of military knowledge and ability which made the royalists consider him a worthy

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descendant of the Condés—the favourite heroes of France until the revolution broke out. Gay, light-hearted, witty, gallant, and not over-scrupulous in pursuit of pleasure, he had all the qualities which the French most admired, and which constituted the *beau seigneur*, or fine gentleman, in the olden times. At the peace of Lunéville, in 1801, the emigrant corps being completely disbanded, the Duke d'Enghien fixed his residence at Ettenheim, a château on the German side of the Rhine, a few miles from that river, and in the territories of the Margrave of Baden. This choice of a residence was influenced by an attachment between him and the Princess Charlotte de Rohan, who resided at Ettenheim with her near relative the Cardinal de Rohan. "That unfortunate prince," says Bourrienne, who only pretends to relate what he knew on the very best authority, "was at Ettenheim in consequence of a love-affair, and had no communication whatever with those who had been concocting a plot in the interior of France." Between love, hunting in the Black Forest, and cultivating with his own hands a small flower-garden, he passed his whole time. But, as there was the closest connexion between the two Polignacs, de Rivière, and others, and the French princes in England, who could not be reached, Bonaparte decided that d'Enghien, who could be reached, was in the plot also, and that his life must be sacrificed, if not to his security, to his vengeance. By one of those orders that flew like lightning from Paris to all the extremities of France, the officer commanding at Strasbourg was enjoined to send some troops across the Rhine, by night, and seize the duke in his château; and Caulaincourt, one of Bonaparte's aides-de camp, and soon afterwards called Duke of Vicenza, was sent by his master to the Rhine to superintend the operation. Caulaincourt gave the *delicate* commission to Colonel Ordenner, commandant of the gendarmerie-à-cheval, who, on the night of the 14th of March, crossed the river with some squadrons of gendarmes and other cavalry, entered the territory of Baden, as though it had been a French province, and, advancing at the charging-pace, soon surrounded the château of Ettenheim.

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The duke was roused from his midnight slumber by the tramp of horses' feet and the rattling of arms; he was forthwith seized, put into a carriage, and whirled off towards Paris. Iron chains were put upon the Prince's arms, and the carriage which conveyed him stopped only to change horses and mounted escorts of gendarmes. They scarcely allowed him time or opportunity to procure any refreshment. At the dusk of the evening, on the 20th of March, the carriage stopped at the gloomy old fortress of Vincennes. That same night he was brought before a military tribunal which had been named by Murat and Bonaparte himself, and which dispensed with witnesses or any kind of evidence; and on the following morning before daylight he was led down to the ditch of the castle to be put to death by some of Savary's gendarmes. The Prince asked for the attendance of a confessor. "Would you die like a priest?" was the brutal reply to the request. He cut off a lock of his hair, and gave it with a miniature, and a gold ring, to an officer, imploring him to cause it to be delivered to the Princess de Rohan; and then, presenting his breast to the soldiers, he exclaimed, "I die for my king and for France." The men fired at the close distance of ten paces, and, as they fired, the Duke rushed towards the muzzles of their pieces, and fell dead at their feet.

Whatever may have been the sensation produced in Paris or in the rest of France by this atrocious affair, it is certain that the kidnapping and murder of the Duke d'Enghien excited an indignant feeling in all the rest of Europe, and produced immediate demonstrations unfavourable to Bonaparte in all the courts that were strong enough, or remote enough, to hazard the expression of their opinion. The court of St. Petersburg ordered a public mourning for the death of the unfortunate prince, and remonstrated with his real assassin, the first consul; and the Emperor Alexander, as mediator and guarantee of the continental peace, notified to the states of the Germanic Empire that he considered the violation of the territory of Baden, and the seizure of the Duke d'Enghien, as an overt attack on the security and independence of

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that empire. Going farther than this, the young tzar sent in a note to the Diet assembled at Ratisbon, complaining of this violation and criminal transgression of the law and rights of nations, and reminding the Diet that he had pledged himself, together with the first consul of France, to protect the rights and ensure the tranquillity of the minor states of the Germanic Confederation. The King of Sweden also remonstrated, and sent his note to the Germanic Diet, as a party interested through the possessions which he held in the empire, and as an ancient guarantee of the independence of that league. Bonaparte, whose pride could never bear reproach or interference, and who knew or suspected that Russia, some time before this, had listened to English proposals for a new coalition, made Talleyrand write a most insolent and outrageous note to the Russian ambassador. He asked why, when the Elector of Baden and the other German princes were silent [their silence proceeded from their weakness and their fears], Russia presumed to intermeddle in a matter that was wholly German? Whence came that strange pretension of Russia to mix audaciously in what did not concern her? When the Emperor Paul, the ally of France, and the father of the Emperor Alexander, fell under the blows of assassins, *sold to England*, had France advanced the political right of examining that mysterious iniquity? This language might ensure, at no distant period, a war with Russia, but it was not calculated to remove the evil impression which had been made. This war indeed was almost a certainty before; but the kidnapping and the murder of the Bourbon prince, and the recriminations cast in the teeth of the young tzar (who, in the Moniteur and other French publications, was directly accused of being the assassin of his own insane father), hastened the declaration of hostilities, and gave a keener edge to the Russian enmity. He gained victories after this, and he had triumphs—many and high triumphs, with a conquered kingdom, and a conquered empire in the dust before him—but from this time cheerfulness was banished from the heart, and joy and liveliness from the court, of Bonaparte.

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Just fifteen days after the execution of the Bourbon prince at Vincennes, General Pichegru—with whom, as with Georges, the Polignacs, and others, the prince ought to have been confronted—was found dead in his cell in the Temple, where he had been lying ever since the 27th of February, subject to the frequent visits and interrogatories of Réal and other familiars of the infernal police. No threats, no promises could induce Pichegru to injure any man by his answers, or to effect the great object in view—that of implicating General Moreau in the royalist conspiracy. He threatened, on the contrary, to tear to pieces the flimsy web which had been thrown round Moreau; to speak out on his public trial; to unfold the odious means by which he and his companions had been entrapped into the conspiracy by Bonaparte's police; and to reveal what he knew of the first consul's own correspondence with the Bourbons. To proceed publicly against two such successful generals as Pichegru and Moreau at one and the same time, might, perchance, prove too severe a trial of the temper of the army. It was calculated, too, that, if Pichegru were but dead, it might be insinuated that it was only his death which removed the proof of Moreau's complicity. Réal had been heard muttering as he came from his cell, "What a man this Pichegru is! There is no moving him." On the 5th of April, this counsellor of state and manager of police, this creature of Fouché, had a long secret interview with the general, and it was on the next morning that Pichegru was found strangled on his bed, with a black cravat tightened round his neck, by means of a stick which acted as a tourniquet. Six obscure surgeons, named by the criminal tribunal, were called in to examine the body, and sign a report that Pichegru had committed suicide.

The world was still aghast at the fate of Pichegru, when another and a more bloody catastrophe was brought to light from the same state-prison. Captain John Wesley Wright was becalmed on the morning of the 8th of May, close by the mouth of the river Morbihan, on the coast of France, and was carried by the ebb-tide close

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upon the rocks. Whilst his crew were sweeping with all their strength to get clear of the coast, seventeen armed vessels were rowed out from the Morbihan, consisting of six brigs, six luggers, and five smaller gun-vessels. Wright's craft was only an 18-gun brig-sloop, and his crew consisted of fifty-one effective men and twenty-four boys; yet he gallantly fought, within grape and hailing distance, the whole French flotilla for nearly two hours, and did not strike his colours until his ship was a mere wreck—until twelve of his men were wounded and two killed, and he himself wounded in the groin. Laurent-Tourneur, the French commanding officer to whom Wright struck, told him that he had nobly sustained the honour of his flag, and the high reputation of his country's navy; that the French loved and esteemed the brave, and that he and his crew would be treated with all possible kindness. This was the natural impulse, and no doubt the intention or wish of the brave French officer; but there were very different feelings and intentions entertained at Paris. The first consul was informed that Wright's vessel had been recognized as the same which had landed Pichegru; and that Wright had been a lieutenant on board Sir Sidney Smith's ship the 'Tigre,' and had distinguished himself under Sir Sidney in the defence of Acre. Orders were immediately transmitted to the coast to interrogate the captured English crew *separately*, that is secretly, and by the police; and, when nothing could be got from the English sailors to throw any light on the Pichegru conspiracy, Captain Wright was brought up to Paris, thrown into the Temple, not as a prisoner of war, but as a state-prisoner, and there confined *au secret*. What followed could be precisely known only to those familiars who possessed the secrets of that prison-house. Even the date of the unhappy man's final catastrophe is not known; for Bonaparte himself declared that his death had been concealed for some considerable time—the motive of that concealment no doubt being an anxiety to avoid a too close juxtaposition with the death of Pichegru in the same accursed place. Bonaparte also allowed that, to extort confessions,

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the surgeon of Wright's ship was threatened with immediate death; and this is nothing less than a species of torture. He also declared that his grand object was to secure the principals, and to extract a full disclosure of all he suspected Wright to know; and that he considered the English captain's evidence of the utmost consequence. These avowals have tended to confirm the belief, which was very generally entertained at the time, and which indeed seemed unavoidable, that Wright was barbarously treated in his close confinement—perhaps that his body, as well as mind, had been subjected to actual torture—and that, to get rid of the evidence his maimed or injured frame would present, recourse was had to another midnight assassination. Captain Wright was once, and only once, seen in public, after his arrival at the Temple. This was on the 2nd of June, when he refused to answer any interrogatories, declaring, that, as a prisoner of war, as a British officer, he considered himself amenable only to his own government. We know not how long after this Wright lived, but it was a considerable time ere it was announced in the *Moniteur* that he had been found one morning in his cell with his throat cut from ear to ear; and that this was another very clear case of suicide. But, again, a great majority of the world, not certainly excepting that of Paris, concluded it was another clear case of assassination. And, in fact, the probabilities of Wright's having destroyed himself were still less than the small probabilities in Pichegru's case.

After many vain attempts to effect a compromise with Moreau, and after the functions of the jury had been suspended, a mock state-trial commenced, the republican general being arraigned with the two Polignacs and the rest of those royalists. Nearly every form of justice was outraged, and nothing was or could be proved against Moreau. But the brave Georges-Cadoudal, and twelve associates, were guillotined, and Moreau was banished from France. His house and bit of ground were bought by the government, and an officer of Savary's *gendarmes d'élite* conducted the man universally esteemed the best general, next to Bonaparte, through France and Spain to

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Cadiz, where he embarked with his wife and family for the United States.

These were but a few of the means by which Bonaparte paved his way to the Imperial Throne. For some time past preconcerted addresses had been pouring in from the departments, and the opinion had been industriously circulated in Paris that nothing but an hereditary monarchy could save France. Certain ci-devant Jacobins noisily took the lead, and the tribunate and the senate joined chorus in singing or shouting "Long live the Emperor!" "Long live hereditary monarchy!" "Let us proclaim Napoleon Emperor of the French!" And, after a few forms had been gone through, he was so proclaimed on the 19th of May.

In the month of July he left Paris to visit the camp at Boulogne, and the so-called army of England. Some of the Paris gossips were quite certain that he was now really going to carry into execution his long threatened invasion, and would soon be back with King George and William Pitt, with all the royal family, and the worst of the English aristocracy, prisoners in his train. But nothing took place at Boulogne beyond a distribution of the crosses of the Legion of Honour, the swearing-in of the troops to the new absolute order of government, and a splendid review near the shore of the Channel—that Channel whose broad rough waters were studded with British ships of the line, and proud frigates which told the enthroned soldier that he was not to pass it. The poor, defenceless old Pope was dragged from Rome to Paris in the inclement month of November; and on the 2nd of December, he assisted at the coronation of the Emperor and the Empress Josephine.

Shortly after his coronation, Bonaparte addressed another letter to George III. personally, under the title of "Sir, and Brother." The professed object of this epistle, which was very different from its real object, was to prove that France and England ought to be at peace; and that he, the Emperor, was weary of war. The king of England's answer was returned in a diplomatic note, addressed by Lord Mulgrave, our secretary of state for

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foreign affairs, to Talleyrand, who continued to fill that office in France. Bonaparte's string of truisms was met with the general declaration that there was no object which his Britannic majesty had more at heart than to avail himself of the first opportunity to procure the advantages of a peace founded on bases not incompatible with the permanent security and essential interests of his dominions; but that he was persuaded that this end could only be attained by arrangements which might at the same time provide for the future safety and tranquillity of Europe.

The rights of neutral states and the law of nations had been most flagrantly violated, in numerous instances, in the summer and autumn of 1804. Two or three of these cases will serve to show in what temper the British government must have received the new emperor's insidious letter. Ever since the rupture of the peace of Amiens, Bonaparte had been complaining that the British ambassadors, envoys, and other diplomatic agents resident at the different courts and states of Europe, were only on the continent to create him enemies among his neighbours, and to encourage and promote insurrections and conspiracies in the interior of France. Even after his own intimate conviction that the Duke d'Enghien was in no plot at all, and was not a man capable of entertaining for an instant any notion of leaguing himself with assassins, he gave out that the unfortunate prince had been so leagued, and that sundry English diplomatists were leagued with him, having urged the prince to rush into the foul conspiracy, and having furnished him with money for the purpose. It is quite certain that our diplomatists were not on the continent to make friends for this overbearing insolent foe of their country and of Europe; and it was a part of their duty—a duty not in itself very agreeable, yet one recognised in the law or common practice of war—to encourage the Bourbon royalists and other disaffected classes in France, and to embarrass by internal commotions the enemy that was threatening to invade England, and that had long kept an immense army in sight of our coast. Bonaparte himself had done

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something more than this in Ireland, and that too at a time when there was peace between him and Great Britain. A plan was laid by the Imperial secret police and one Mehée de la Touche, who passed himself off as a devoted partisan of the Bourbons, and who pretended to be at the head of a party. Mr. Drake, our resident at Munich, and Mr. Spencer Smith, our envoy at Stuttgard, fell blindly into the snare laid for them by the great practitioner: they took Mehée for the passionate royalist that he described himself to be; they encouraged him to persevere, and expressed the hope that the great party he represented would eventually succeed in overthrowing the intolerable tyranny of the Corsican. They suggested some measures which might contribute to that desirable end, but, assuredly, assassination was never mentioned by any one, excepting perhaps Mehée de la Touche himself. Obedient to the orders of Bonaparte, the petty courts of Bavaria and Wirtemburg ordered Drake and Smith to quit their territories immediately. The *Moniteur* then publicly assailed Sir George Rumbold, our chargé d'affaires to the circle of Lower Saxony; and a party of French troops, suddenly crossing the Elbe, kidnapped Sir George at his country-house near Hamburg. This diplomatist was carried a close prisoner to Paris, and there thrown into the Temple. After some time he was liberated on the remonstrance of the Court of Berlin; but his papers were all detained. Such were a few of the facts which preceded the Emperor Napoleon's letter to his "brother" George III.

Before this time Pitt felt his ministerial condition to be one of extreme difficulty. The mingled opposition, including so many of his own family connexions, was collecting all its force; and, shrinking from the collision, or hoping to gain strength in the interval, he put off the assembling of parliament as long as he possibly could. A severe illness deprived him for some time of the services of his colleague, Lord Harrowby; and he declared that the loss of this assistance would be a great misfortune, but that he must do as well as he could. An attempt was made to conciliate Lord Grenville; but it

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failed;—his lordship would not abandon Fox and the Talents, or his pre-conceived notion of a comprehensive ministry. Nothing, therefore, remained for Chatham's proud son to do, but to make peace with Addington, who had carried with him no inconsiderable reinforcement to the mixed opposition. It is said that the king, who retained his warm partiality for Addington, and who was reasonably alarmed at the weakness of Pitt's majorities at the close of the session, strongly recommended, and in fact insisted upon, this reconciliation: and this appears to be proved by expressions used privately and confidentially by Pitt himself.

Simultaneously with this reconciliation, and possibly as an essential ingredient to it, Addington was raised to the peerage, as Viscount Sidmouth, of Sidmouth, and was brought into the cabinet as president of the council, in the room of the Duke of Portland, whose years and infirmities made retirement desirable. At the same time Lord Mulgrave was appointed secretary of state for the foreign department, in the place of Lord Harrowby, and the Earl of Buckinghamshire took Mulgrave's post as chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

A.D. 1805.—Notwithstanding the accession of Lord Sidmouth's partisans, Pitt felt that his majorities would still be rather feeble; and therefore he wished to put aside all questions which might divide his friends. When parliament met, on the 15th of January, the minister appeared to have lost much of his usual confidence; but this might in part arise from his declining health. His rival did not omit to remind him that he had done nothing to redeem the pledge which he was understood to have given to the Roman Catholics. On the last point Pitt replied with great animation. If the measures in favour of the Catholics of Ireland, which Fox was now so loudly calling for, appeared to him so immediately necessary, why had he suffered four years to elapse since the Union, without having ever called for them before? "What the reasons are," continued Pitt, "which have induced me to suffer the Catholic question to remain dormant, I shall, on a future occasion, have an opportu-

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nity of stating: and I flatter myself that the House and the country will give me credit for consistency, when I shall have stated the reasons why I still think that the matter should remain dormant at the present moment." The opportunity for explanation cannot be said to have presented itself during the present session; and before the next session was two days old Pitt was dead: so that it seems to us unfair and inconsistent to talk of his resuming office in 1804, "refusing to make any stipulation for the Catholics," and of his having from that time "*always* opposed those who urged their claims." This *always* includes only a few most busy and stormy months. In opening the budget Pitt stated that he should require a loan of 20,000,000*l.* for England, and one of 2,500,000*l.* for Ireland; together with the imposition of several new war-taxes, and a double duty on salt. Some additions were made to the army grants; 4,000,000*l.* were allotted to the militia and fencible corps; nearly 4,500,000*l.* to the ordnance; 15,000,000*l.* to the navy; and a very large sum to miscellaneous services. The total amount of the supply voted for the year was 55,590,000*l.* The property or income-tax, or "the contribution on the profits arising from property, professions, trades, offices, &c.," was increased, as were certain duties on legacies, on horses, &c.

From the commencement of the session Lord Melville [Henry Dundas] was menaced with the storm which burst over his head in April. "Rumour," says Wilberforce, "had for some time impeached Lord Melville's integrity." But rumour is not truth. Pitt, whom Dundas had served so long and with such untiring zeal, declared to Wilberforce that he was fully persuaded of his personal integrity—that "he was quite sure there was no real pocketing of public money in him." Mr. Whitbread led the parliamentary assault with a degree of violence which has not often been surpassed; the Addingtonians joined in the attack; and Wilberforce took the same course and influenced forty other members, or the party commonly called "the Saints." When, however, the House first divided, there occurred, what had

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not happened upon any great question for many a year, a perfect equality of votes, 216 voting for the criminatory resolutions, and 216 against them. The speaker (Abbott) with whom Wilberforce had consulted beforehand, gave the casting vote, and it was against Melville. On the 8th of April, Pitt, who was greatly agitated, informed the House that Lord Melville had resigned his office—that of first Lord of the Admiralty. The health of the premier was visibly affected by this occurrence. Many violent debates and other proceedings followed; and on the 26th of June Whitbread, accompanied by a great number of members, impeached Lord Melville, in the name of the Commons of Great Britain, of high crimes and misdemeanors, at the bar of the House of Lords. A bill was brought into the Commons by Whitbread to avoid those differences of opinion which had arisen in the case of Warren Hastings, or to prevent the proceedings in the impeachment of Lord Melville from being affected by any prorogation or dissolution of parliament; and, after some slight alteration in the wording, it was carried through all its stages without a division. Here the proceedings rested for the present; and before any further progress could be made, Pitt, whose health and spirits were evidently affected by them, was laid in Westminster Abbey.

On the 12th of July, in consequence of a message from the king, three millions and a half were voted for the new coalition which was forming on the Continent; and on the same day parliament was prorogued by commission.

Two days before the prorogation, Lord Sidmouth (Addington) and Lord Buckinghamshire resigned. Sidmouth was succeeded by Lord Camden, and Lord Buckinghamshire by Lord Harrowby. Lord Castlereagh obtained Earl Camden's place of secretary of foreign affairs.

Although it had not been deemed expedient to communicate the fact to parliament, a treaty had been signed as early as the 11th of April, by which the Emperor of Russia and the King of England reciprocally bound

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themselves to use the most efficacious means for forming a general league of the States of Europe, for the purpose of putting an end to the encroachments of the French government. Sweden and Austria had both entered into the same views. The King of Sweden had signed a separate treaty with the Emperor of Russia, on the 10th of January; but Austria hung back, and recommended that negotiations should be attempted with Bonaparte before proceeding to hostilities. A Russian envoy was dispatched for France; but he stopped for a time at Berlin to sound the intentions of the prevaricating cabinet of the King of Prussia: and while he was there, intelligence was received at Vienna and Petersburg of Bonaparte's having annexed Genoa to France, and of his having intimated by other proceedings that a state of peace on the Continent was not to prevent his aggrandizing himself still further at the expense of his neighbours. This led to the envoy's immediate recall, and to the determination of Austria to try again the fortune of war. By a treaty signed at Petersburg, on the 9th of August, Austria became a member of the league with England, Russia, and Sweden. But Prussia continued in the same dubious state: increasing her armies, avoiding any direct engagement, or even explanation, and, evidently, waiting events, in order to determine which side to take as the most advantageous to herself.

Bonaparte had torn the treaty of Lunéville into pieces, and since the opening of the present year he had but too plainly intimated that Europe must fight or submit to him. He gave the people on the other side of the Alps to understand that the Italian republic was an anomaly, and that they must turn it into a monarchy. No time was lost in executing this work. The French emperor crossed the Alps; and on Sunday, the 26th of May, he was crowned in the magnificent Cathedral of Milan. The ceremony was not performed by the Pope, although Pius VII. was at Turin, but by the Archbishop of Milan. Being crowned with the iron crown of the Longobards, Bonaparte instituted an Italian order of the "Iron Crown;" and modelled the new kingdom on precisely

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the same plan as the French empire. He forthwith established his military conscription, and raised the army of Italy to 50,000 men. These Italian troops were of immense service in the ensuing campaign; and without them Massena must have been crushed on the Adige by the Archduke Charles. On his return from Italy he gave a new impulse to the preparations for the invasion of England, and spoke of it publicly as an attempt fully resolved upon, and not to be prevented by any occurrences whatever. He repaired again to the coast, and dated several striking and important decrees from "the Imperial camp of Boulogne." The army of England, as it was called, increased rather than diminished, still lay at Boulogne; the flotillas had been increased, and a junction was making between the French fleets and the fleets of Spain. But, to say nothing of the doubt which still exists, and will ever exist, as to the reality of his intention to risk his army and person in this desperate enterprise, as Nelson at Trafalgar annihilated the united fleets, without which the invasion was an absolute impracticability, as that battle would have been fought whether there had been a coalition or not, and as the continental war affected on neither side the forces whose battle-field was the wide ocean, it is absurd to say, as some French writers continue to do, that it was the hostile movement of Russia and Austria, brought about by English gold, that saved England from invasion, if not from conquest. England was safe through the cannon fired at Trafalgar, though not a gun had been fired on the Continent, and though Bonaparte had been left undisturbed to parade his troops on the coast, as he had already done for years. Towards the end of August Bonaparte returned once more to Boulogne, and the 'Moniteur' announced that this journey was the prelude to the invasion of England. But on the 28th of that month it was announced that the army of England was to become the army of Germany, that the Emperor Francis had attacked the Elector of Bavaria, an ally of Napoleon, that the Emperor Alexander was marching, that the Continent was in flames. And forthwith the 150,000 men collected at Boulogne and

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along that coast struck their tents, and, forming into five separate corps, under the commands of the five marshals, Soult, Davoust, Ney, Lannes, and Murat, marched away with admirable rapidity for the Rhine.

After hesitating so long, and thereby occasioning delays on the part of the Emperor Alexander, the cabinet of Vienna precipitated measures, and took the field too soon; for the Russians, who had to perform an immense march before they could reach the banks of the Upper Danube, were still far off when the Austrians commenced operations. By a strange fatality, the Emperor Francis had given the command of his main army to General, now Field-Marshal, Mack, who had the art or knack still to pass with the Aulic Council as a great military genius, and the best of tacticians and strategists. His shameful discomfiture in the south of Italy, in the year 1799, was attributed solely to the bad, unwarlike qualities of the Neapolitan troops; with the steady veterans of the emperor, the sturdy Austrian infantry, the active light troops of Bohemia, and the brilliant cavalry of Hungary, he would do better, nay, must conquer, and rescue the whole of Germany from the thraldom of the French. Of this confidence he had himself the fullest share. Some fruitless attempts were made to secure Maximilian Joseph, Elector of Bavaria, as an ally; but that prince, hating the whole house of Austria, and believing in the invincibility of Bonaparte, remained steady to the French, and assisted in the humiliation of Germany. Not only did Prussia remain neutral, but the Elector of Baden, in whose territory the Duke d'Enghien had been kidnapped, and the Elector of Wurtemburg, followed the same line of conduct as His Serene Highness of Bavaria. If Prussia had fallen upon the French in flank as they were advancing against the Austrians, the consequence must have been fatal to the invaders: but she professed to be neutral and impartial; the daring violation of her own territory by French troops could not rouse her, and she kept her splendid army of 200,000 men in perfect inactivity. In vain Pitt offered his subsidies; in vain the Emperor Alexander

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repaired in person to Berlin; that unwisely selfish cabinet would do nothing, or nothing yet; and this indecision lasted until the coalition was ruined. There was treachery in his camp, and in the field Mack made scarcely one movement that was not a mistake. The Austrians were defeated by Ney at Elchingen, and at the bridges over the Danube at Guntzburg; and after the affair of Guntzburg there was scarcely any more fighting, a system of capitulations being commenced, and detached masses of troops surrendering to the French without firing a musket. Within twelve days after Bonaparte had crossed the Rhine, Mack's doom was sealed—he was shut up in Ulm, as old Marshal Wurmser had been in Mantua, without a hope or possibility of being relieved. On the morning of the 20th, the Austrians came out of Ulm, and defiled before Bonaparte; the infantry then threw down their arms at the back of the ditch; the cavalry dismounted, and delivered up their arms and their horses to some of the French cavalry who had lost their own horses in the campaign. The poor Austrians, in the act of surrendering their arms, shouted, "Long live the Emperor Francis!" Mack, who was there, replied to some French officers, who addressed him without knowing who he was, "Messieurs, you see before you the unhappy Mack!"

As the French approached Vienna, the emperor Francis and his family fled from it into Moravia. On the 13th of November, the French took undisputed and quiet possession of that proud capital, which had stood in former ages so many sieges, and which had seen the Moslem conquerors twice retreat from before its walls. There had been an abundance of time to allow of the removing of all such things; the grand united army in Moravia was very badly provided; the Russians were in want of almost every thing; but the Austrian managers of these matters appear to have thought it better to keep their military stores, arms, clothing, and provisions for the use of their enemies than to send them to their friends, for the French found in the magazines of Vienna and its suburbs an immense quantity of all these things

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Bonaparte gave a part of the spoils to the Elector of Bavaria, whose troops were fighting under his banner, and whose un-German heart was triumphing in the calamity and humiliation of Austria. The new Emperor of the French took up his abode in Schonbrunn, the splendid palace of the far-descended Emperor Francis; he appointed one of his generals governor of Vienna; and conducted himself in all things like the sovereign of the country. Many times the report was confidently spread that peace had been concluded between Napoleon and Francis; and this, connected with other occurrences and indications, was likely to damp the spirit and embarrass the councils of the Russians, who had marched so far only to meet a beaten, disheartened, unsteady ally.

In the meanwhile, the Archduke Charles, after fighting some desperate battles on the Adige, at Caldiero, and other places, had been driven out of Italy by the superior forces of Marshal Massena, who closely followed him on his retreat through the Tyrol. The archduke, however, formed a junction with the forces under the command of his brother, the brave Archduke John. Affairs were not desperate, or were so only in the eyes of cowards. The Emperor Alexander had now arrived in Moravia with his formidable army; the loyal subjects of Austria were rapidly recruiting the forces of their sovereign and the two Archdukes; the country afforded no subsistence to the French; a most severe winter had set in, and the French must either have retreated or have perished there. It behoved the allied emperors to avoid a general action; but it was a part of the fatality of the adversaries of Bonaparte to be slow when they ought to be quick, and quick when they ought to be slow. The Russians and Austrians, therefore, marched to the plain of Austerlitz, and gave the French battle there on the 2nd of December. The two armies which engaged were nearly equal in number; but the French had a decided superiority in artillery, both as to number and quality; and it was on the employment of that arm that they principally relied for their victory. The

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Russian infantry made a great use of the bayonet: most of the French that were wounded were wounded by that weapon, and in nearly every case these wounds proved mortal. In the end it was a victory for Bonaparte; but it was for a long time doubtful, and it cost him a tremendous price. The Russians retired in perfect order, in solid bronze-like masses, and the French showed no inclination to follow them. The Emperor of Russia refused to join in the humiliating measure; but the Emperor Francis, the very day after the battle, opened negotiations with the French.

On the 26th of December, while Alexander was retiring by regular day marches into his own territories, Francis signed the ruinous treaty of Presburg. By this treaty he ceded, nominally to Napoleon's kingdom of Italy, not only Venice and the Venetian provinces in Upper Italy, but the Venetian provinces in Istria, in Dalmatia, and on the coast of Albania, which he had possessed ever since the treaty of Campo Formio; he ceded to the Elector of Bavaria the whole of the Tyrol, with the bishopric of Passau and other territories; he ceded to Wurtemberg and Baden, those other liege vassals of France, other districts; he recognised the regal titles of the Electors of Bavaria and Wurtemberg, and the grand-ducal title of the Elector of Baden,—for the Emperor Napoleon had resolved that the first two should have the rank of kings, and that the Elector of Baden, who had taken the kidnapping and murder of the Duke d'Enghien in such good part, and who, like the other un-German princes, had rendered important services during this campaign, should have the rank of grand-duke; and, in addition to these and other sacrifices, Austria in a secret article agreed to pay to the French a military contribution of 140,000,000 of francs. The population thus turned over to the conqueror by a few strokes of the pen was estimated at about 3,000,000. But there was worse than a loss of population, and a limited surrender of territory: by being made to give up Trieste, which had long been her only sea-port, and all that she had obtained by the treaties of Campo Formio

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and Lunéville on the Adriatic, Austria entirely shut herself out from the sea, and became an inland power, without the faculty of exporting or importing directly a bale of goods or a cart-load of produce—she became *enclavée*, cooped in on every side; and on the Adriatic side, where she most wanted freedom and extension, a hostile state, a strip of the kingdom of Italy, which was merely a province of France, was interposed between her and the sea. The fracture made of the independence of Switzerland and of the Grisons had weakened her frontier on the side of France; and now the dissevérance of the Tyrol, the cradle of the imperial house, and the oldest of its possessions, completed this ruin of frontier and bulwarks, and gave the French the entire command of the best routes which connect Upper Italy with Germany. But still more loss of influence and honour!—all the smaller German states of the Rhine were formed by Bonaparte, who put himself at the head of it as "Protector," into what was called the Confederation of the Rhine: the old Germanic empire was thus dissolved; the influence of the French was fully established over a great part of Germany; and very soon after this treaty the Emperor Francis formally renounced his title of Elective Emperor of Germany, and assumed that of Hereditary Emperor of Austria, &c. The King of Prussia, who had been the only king in Germany until Bonaparte chose to give kingly crowns to his vassals of Bavaria and Wurtemberg, was recommended by the cabinet who were leading him to his ruin to take the title of Emperor of Prussia; but he did not. Less than three weeks after the signing of the treaty of Presburg, Eugene Beauharnais married Augusta Amelia, daughter of the King of Bavaria: and shortly after Mademoiselle or Princess Stephanie Beauharnais, Eugene's cousin, was given in marriage to the son and heir of the Grand-Duke of Baden, who had earnestly solicited the honour of an alliance with the august family of Bonaparte. Another matrimonial alliance was contemplated with the family of the King of Wurtemberg.

Other parties connected with the coalition were to

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blame besides Mack and the Aulic Council; and the government of Pitt, who had made the Convention, had made a very injudicious use of the resources of their country. That system of petty expeditions which had so long disgraced England, or which, at the least, had deprived her of the honour she might otherwise have gained, had again been resorted to; and for the present saving of a few millions, the necessity had been incurred of a future expenditure of very many millions. If the King of Sweden, whose zeal in the cause was depressed only by his poverty, had been liberally supplied with money, if 25,000 or 30,000 British troops had been sent to the Baltic in the autumn, a great movement might have been effected in the north of Germany, the vacillations of Prussia might have been brought to an end by those best of all arguments, the presence of a great allied army and the exceeding great probability of the French being the losing party, and Prussia would have carried with her into the coalition Saxony, Brunswick, and one or two other minor states; Bonaparte would have been obliged to divide and sub-divide his grand army; he might have been attacked on his left flank and on his rear, and the Hanoverians, and probably the Dutch, whose countries had been left with hardly any French troops in them, would have risen *en masse* and have overthrown their temporary Gallican governments; for the Hanoverians were heartily attached to their old line of sovereigns, and the Dutch were by this time heartily sick of French domination, and of that system which had led to the almost entire destruction of their foreign trade, the one great source of their wealth, as of their former political greatness. If this course had been pursued in good time, Bernadotte would not have quitted Hanover at all, or if he had done so he must have been compelled to retrace his steps; and in either case the catastrophe at Ulm, which he so essentially contributed to, would not have taken place. But precious time was lost, money was withheld, and the very small number of native British forces which Pitt's government thought they might spare for foreign service was divided, and sent to two opposite

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extremities of Europe; only 5000 or 6000 British troops were sent to the Baltic, and, counting the king's German legion and other foreign corps, the entire force which landed in Swedish Pomerania (*and not before the month of October*), under the command of General Don and Lord Cathcart, fell short of 16,000 men. This force was joined by 12,000 Swedes, and by about 9000 or 10,000 Russians. The supreme command was rather nominally than really intrusted to the King of Sweden, who, after recovering Hanover, was to advance upon Holland. But there could be no advance of this extensive kind without securing, at the very least, the neutrality of Prussia; and a mixed army of less than 38,000 men, and the delays which had occurred, and the differences of opinion which were known to exist among the officers in command of it, were but little calculated to give to Prussia those convictions she wanted. Pitt had dispatched Lord Harrowby to Berlin, and the English generals were disposed to rely upon the effects of his lordship's diplomacy; but his Swedish majesty, who better knew the character of that cabinet, and who forgot that he had not a force sufficient to dictate to Prussia with her 200,000 men, wrote some impatient and rather violent notes to his Prussian majesty. The court of Berlin complained; the English and the Russians too remonstrated; a quarrel was the consequence; and his Swedish majesty, throwing up the command of the allied army, retired with his own forces to Stralsund. After more than three weeks had been spent in waiting the result of the negotiations at Berlin, and in explaining away the words and letters which had given offence to his Swedish majesty, Gustavus resumed the command, and the petty allied army began to shake itself: but it was now beyond the middle of November; and in the interval Mack had surrendered at Ulm, and Bonaparte had entered Vienna—events which made the Berlin cabinet more vacillatory than before, and more tenacious of the rights of neutrality with regard to the belligerent party that was so evidently succumbing in the present struggle. Gustavus marched into the Electorate of Hanover, and even laid siege to the town of Hameln, where Bernadotte

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had left a considerable garrison; but then came the news of the battle of Austerlitz; and thereupon the allies conceived no alternative was left them but to get back with all speed to their respective countries. The British reembarked; the Swedes retired again to the shelter of the well fortified Stralsund; and the Russians retreated into Mecklenburg, there to await the arrival of their shipping.

The operations of the 3000 British troops, who were sent to the south of Italy, will be noticed in the following year in connexion with the French conquest and entire occupation of the kingdom of Naples—an event which would have happened about the time it did, whether the allies had or had not induced the Neapolitan court to break its treaty of neutrality with the French, although our sending and landing of troops certainly furnished Bonaparte with good materials and colours for excusing his ambition, and his pre-determined aggrandisement.

We gladly escape from these continental disasters, and disgraces on shore, to our victories and glories at sea. But for our successes on our own element, woeful, indeed, must have been the close of this year, 1805. With the joint navies of France and Spain, Bonaparte had hoped to gain an Austerlitz by sea. Eluding the vigilance of Lord Nelson, Admiral Villeneuve, who stole out of Toulon, on the 31st of March, with ten ships of the line, seven frigates and two brigs, reached, after an indirect course, the harbour of Cadiz. Here he was joined by six Spanish sail of the line and two French ships of the line, with 10,000 troops on board. With these troops, with eighteen sail of the line, and with his frigates, Villeneuve sailed for our West India islands. As soon as he could learn the course he had taken, Nelson followed him across the Atlantic with only ten sail of the line. The British admiral reached Barbadoes on the 4th of June, three weeks after the arrival of the French admiral at Martinique. Villeneuve had been joined by two more French ships of the line, but they had brought him conflicting and bewildering instructions from his emperor, and he had been able to do little more than capture and burn a few of our merchant vessels; and so soon as he learned the

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arrival of the dreaded Nelson, he set sail on his return for Europe. His twenty sail of the line were followed by our ten. Nelson returned to England on the 18th of August without having seen anything of the combined fleet. But Villeneuve did not reach port without an action: he was attacked by Vice-Admiral Sir Robert Calder, to the north-west of Cape Finisterre, on the 22nd of July. The Frenchman had still his twenty sail of the line and seven frigates; Calder had only fifteen sail of the line and two frigates; yet he captured an 84 and a 74-gun ship (both Spaniards), and was much censured for not having done more. After this action Villeneuve ran into Ferrol and Corunna. He was ordered to proceed to Brest, where Gantheaume was ready to join him with the Brest fleet, which counted twenty-one ships of the line, but upon learning that Calder had joined Admiral Cornwallis, instead of sailing for Brest he ran round the Spanish coast and took refuge in Cadiz.

On the 21st of August, the day on which Villeneuve got into Cadiz Bay, Admiral Gantheaume, who was expecting him at Brest, stood out of that harbour with twenty-one sail of the line, as if to meet him a little way out at sea. Admiral Cornwallis, who was watching Gantheaume, had at this moment only fourteen ships of the line with him; but with this inferior force he moved in to attack, and, after a distant cannonade, Gantheaume, who strained his eyes in vain in looking out to the south for Villeneuve's fleet, retired to the protection of land batteries, and at nightfall returned again into Brest harbour. The other movements of our fleets were of little importance, as the French and Spaniards would not move, until Nelson again took the chief command.

On the 14th of September the foot of the hero was again on the quarter-deck of his favourite ship the 'Victory;' he sailed on the 15th, and on the 29th, his birthday, he arrived off Cadiz and joined Lord Collingwood. A novel and most admirable plan of attack was concerted, and with a full assurance of success the fleet awaited the day when the French and Spaniards should venture out to sea. On Monday the 21st of October, when Nelson

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was near Cape Trafalgar, the enemy was discovered. Nelson told Blackwood, his captain, that he would not be satisfied unless he took twenty of them. He asked whether the captain did not think there was a signal wanting. Blackwood replied, that he thought the whole fleet understood what they were about. But Nelson gave his last signal—"ENGLAND EXPECTS EVERY MAN TO DO HIS DUTY,"—and, as the telegraphic message was communicated from the mizen-top-gallant-mast-head of the 'Victory,' it was greeted with three cheers on board of every ship in the fleet. It was the hour of noon when this most memorable of our sea-battles began in earnest. Nelson's customary signal on going into action, "Engage the enemy more closely," was fast belayed at the 'Victory's' main-top-gallant-mast-head. The entire British force consisted of twenty-seven sail of the line, four frigates, one schooner, and one cutter; the French and Spaniards united, counted thirty-three sail of the line, five frigates, and two brigs. The largest ships on our side were the 'Victory,' the 'Royal Sovereign,' which carried Collingwood's flag, and the 'Britannia,' which carried the flag of Rear-Admiral the Earl of Northesk; they mounted 100 guns each: the largest ships on the opposite side were the 'Santissima Trinidad' of 130 guns, the 'Principe de Asturias' of 112 guns, the 'Santa Anna,' of 112 guns, and the 'Rayo' of 100 guns. The English had four 98-gun ships, and one 80-gun ship; the enemy had six 80-gun ships: of the smaller line of battle-ships mounting 64 guns, the English had three and the enemy only one: the English had sixteen 74's, the enemy twenty-two. Leaving out of the account the frigates and small craft on both sides, Nelson had but 2148 guns to oppose to Villeneuve's 2626 guns: his numerical inferiority in men was much greater: his patched-up ships too were inferior in quality; but his immense superiority lay in the quality of his crews, in the long-practised skill and bravery of his officers, in his own ready resources, and in the zeal and enthusiasm with which he had inspired every man and boy in the fleet. The enemy fought bravely, but by three o'clock ten ships of their line had struck, and Admiral Villeneuve

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was a prisoner. The victory was completed in another half-hour; but Nelson had been mortally wounded by a rifle-ball fired from the mizen-top of one of the French ships, and he was breathing his last as the sailors were shouting triumphantly. Two Spanish admirals had surrendered. In all, nineteen ships of the line had struck to Nelson at Trafalgar. Admiral Gravina, in the 'Principe de Asturias,' a 112-gun ship, fell away to leeward of the rear, and made off, with four other ships. Five other ships, four French and one Spanish, under Villeneuve's second, Rear-Admiral Dumanoir, which had sustained little or no damage in their masts and sails, while hardly any of the hard-fought English ships had a stick left standing, hauled off to windward; but as Dumanoir passed the 'Royal Sovereign,' the 'Conqueror,' and the 'Victory,' which were lying like logs upon the water, he and the three French ships with him poured their shot not only into those English ships, but also into the Spanish prizes they had made. Both Gravina and Dumanoir escaped from the battle; but Gravina had been mortally wounded, and Dumanoir and his squadron fell in, in their flight, with Sir Richard Strachan, who was cruising in search of the Rochefort squadron, and were all taken on the 4th of November. The 'Achille,' a French 74, after having surrendered, by some mismanagement of her crew took fire and blew up; 200 of her men were saved by English tenders, who picked them out of the water. The total number of prisoners taken, including the land forces on board, amounted to nearly 12,000. The total British loss in the battle was 1587, including many officers, besides the greatest of all. Captain Duff of the 'Mars,' and Captain Cooke of the 'Bellerophon,' were among the slain. The French, out of eighteen sail of the line, preserved only nine, and the Spaniards, out of fifteen sail of the line, preserved only six; the moral effect was as great as the physical one; between the two the marine force at the disposal of Bonaparte might be said to be annihilated.

Nelson's crowning glory rescued England from all chance of invasion, and left her sovereign of the seas.

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After the battle of Trafalgar the task of the British navy, which had attained under Nelson to a degree of perfection which it had never approached before, was of the easiest execution: nor could reverse, defeat, or disgrace have possibly attended our flag in any seas, if our changing boards of admiralty and variable governments had known how to make use of the mighty powers and energies at their disposal, and had discarded on one hand their proneness to jobbery or to political trafficking in promotions, and on the other hand their incidental fits of economy.

The French, indeed, henceforward renounced all hope of invading and conquering England; nay, even of contending with her as a maritime power; but they flattered themselves that they found more than an equivalent in the easy subjugation and plunder of the continent; and that the continental system, which began to occupy Bonaparte's mind, as soon as his navy was destroyed, would, by closing all the ports of Europe to English commerce, reduce the proud rival of France to poverty and despair.

The Spaniards generally had fought bravely in the action; but the heart of the Spanish people was not in that cause; some humane and politic conduct of Collingwood, being superadded to the very unfavourable effects produced by Dumanoir's conduct, and by various other deeds of their French allies, produced a sudden popular reaction favourable to the English. All this tended to obliterate the recollections of the melancholy affair of the four treasure-frigates, and to qualify the Spaniards for that close alliance with the English into which they were so soon driven by Bonaparte; and it enabled Collingwood to exercise a powerful influence over the people of Spain at the commencement of their great rising.

Admiral Villeneuve, who acknowledged that the French could no longer think of contending with us at sea, was brought over to England, but was almost immediately liberated on parole, and allowed to return to France. Perhaps it would have been better for himself to have been retained a close prisoner; for scarcely had he reached Rennes on his way to Paris when his name

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was added to that ambiguous list of suicides which was headed by the names of Pichegru and Wright.

In the course of the year which witnessed the glories of Trafalgar, our arms were attended with signal success in the East Indies, and a land war was there carried on, not in the petty manner practised by us on the European Continent, but on a grand scale. Notwithstanding the victories of Generals Lake and Arthur Wellesley in 1802-3, a fresh Mahratta war broke out in 1804. The great chief Holkar, who had remained inactive during the war against Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar, and who had been strengthening himself while they had been rushing to their ruin, suddenly assumed an attitude which excited alarm or suspicion. Having refused to enter into an amicable negotiation, General, now Lord Lake, and General Fraser, were sent against Holkar. One or two hill-fortresses were stormed, a skirmish or two were fought, and then, on the 13th of November, 1804, Holkar's infantry and artillery, strongly posted near the fortress of Deeg, in the midst of tanks, topes, and morasses, were entirely defeated by General Fraser, who charged them with the bayonet, under a terrific fire of round, grape, and chain shot. Unfortunately a cannon-ball took off Fraser's leg, and he died of his wounds a few days after. On the 17th of November Lord Lake gained another victory at Furruckabad. This would have finished the war but for a new alliance which Holkar contracted with the powerful Rajah of Bhurtpoor. Lake instantly turned his arms against the territory of that rajah, and drove the Mahrattas out of several of his fortresses. On the 1st of January, 1805, his lordship marched to the city of Bhurtpoor, the excessively strong and well-defended capital of the rajah, and on the 3rd he commenced a siege which has scarcely a parallel in the history of modern India, and which witnessed minings and explosions of unprecedented magnitude. Two assaults were repulsed by the besieged with great loss to the besiegers. At length Holkar's general, Meer Khan, having been entirely routed and chased out of the country by General Smith, and Holkar himself so much reduced that he could give no assistance

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to his ally, the rajah made proposals for peace, and on the 10th of April he repaired in person to Lord Lake's camp. The terms granted to him were:—1. That the fortress of Deeg should remain in the hands of the English, and that the rajah should renounce for ever all connexion with the enemies of Great Britain. 2. That he should pay to the Company twenty lacs of rupees, and restore to it some territories which had been conferred upon him by the Company. 3. That he should deliver up one of his sons as a hostage. At this juncture the now aged and infirm Marquess Cornwallis arrived to succeed the Marquess Wellesley as governor-general; but he fell sick on the road as he was travelling to the upper provinces to confer with Lord Lake, and died at Gazipoor near Benares, within three months after his return to India. Scindiah now separated his forces from those of Holkar, and implored for a peace. Holkar spurred away to the banks of the Indus to seek fresh allies among the chiefs of the Seikhs, giving out that he expected to be joined by the hardy and warlike tribes of Affghanistan. Lake followed him, and never allowed him rest until he had driven him beyond the Hyphasis, the boundary of Alexander the Great's conquests. But a timid, money-sparing policy now prevailed in the council of Calcutta; Lake was checked in his career of victory, and was ordered to grant the peace for which the ruined Mahratta was praying. The negotiations were neither long nor difficult, though they must have been painful to his lordship, for he was bound by his instructions to reinstate Holkar, not only in his own dominions from which he had been driven, and which he had deserved to forfeit, but also to put him in possession of territory to which it was believed he never had any right. In conformity with the new system of policy which had been adopted of abandoning all connexion with the petty states, and, generally, with the territories to the westward of the Jumna, Lord Lake was instructed to dissolve the defensive alliances which we had contracted with the Rajah of Gyssore and other inferior powers who had rendered essential services to his lordship, and who looked upon their ruin at the hand of

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the Mahrattas as an inevitable consequence of their being abandoned by the English.

As Lord Lake, Sir John Malcolm, and every other enlightened man in India (whose eyes were not distracted by the prospect of a present saving of money) had clearly foreseen, these treaties, with their concessions and renunciations, gave only a transitory calm to the country. But the campaigns, we repeat, had been conducted in a glorious style; the reports of them in England came opportunely to revive the spirit of the nation—a nation which had little to fear, when it could breed and send forth such men as fought with Nelson at Trafalgar, and marched and fought with Wellesley and Lake in Hindustan.

A.D. 1806.—Parliament was appointed to meet on the 21st of January. Pitt's government had never been so weak as now, and the uneasiness of the king seemed to threaten another return of his distressing and incapacitating malady. The health of the premier had been visibly affected before the close of the preceding session. In the autumn he repaired to Bath; but the sanatory effect of those waters, and that genial air, was prevented by the dismal news of the surrender of Ulm, of the battle of Austerlitz, and of Austria's seceding from the coalition; and these calamities on the continent appear to have assumed such a magnitude in his eyes as almost to blind him to the gain, glory, and triumph of Trafalgar. He came up to town as the meeting of parliament approached; but he was too ill to attend to much business, and on the appointed day, when the houses met, he was lying in a dying state at his country house at Putney. The royal speech was delivered not by the king in person, but by commission. Two days after the meeting of parliament, Pitt expired in the 47th year of his age. After some ungenerous efforts on the part of the Foxites, Mr. Lascelles, on the 27th of January moved, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to direct that the remains of the late Right Honourable William Pitt be interred at the public expense, and that a monument be erected to his memory

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in the collegiate church of St. Peter, Westminster, with an inscription expressive of the irreparable loss the nation has sustained by the death of so excellent a statesman." This was opposed, with more or less illiberal heat, by Lord Folkestone, Mr. William Smith, the Marquess of Douglas, Mr. Ponsonby, Fox, and others. Hawkins Browne, Sir Robert Buxton, Lord Temple, Ryder, George Rose, Lord Castlereagh, and Wilberforce, warmly supported the motion, variously expressing their astonishment or disgust at the disappointment of their expectations, that, on this solemn occasion, party considerations would have been buried in oblivion, and that the proposed honours to the dead—to the unflinching, honest, disinterested statesman—would have been voted unanimously. Fox and his opposition persevered to the dividing of the house; but the division strongly marked the superior generosity of that assembly, the numbers being, *for* Mr. Lascelles's motion 258, *against* it only 89. And, at this moment, few doubts were entertained of Fox's stepping into the post which Pitt had vacated; and if Pitt had been alive, and in his place, he could, on no question whatever, have commanded more than a very slight majority.

Pitt was accordingly interred in Westminster Abbey, where Fox was so very soon to be laid by his side. But more was required from parliament than the vote for a tomb in the abbey. Pitt had died penniless, and had left debts to a large amount. Wilberforce attempted to raise the money by subscription among political and private friends; but his efforts did little more than elicit a miserable exhibition of ingratitude and baseness. Nothing therefore was left but an application to the public purse. A motion for the grant of 40,000*l.* was made by Mr. Cartwright on the 3rd of February, and was carried without opposition. In private as in public affairs, Pitt had allowed himself to be cheated and robbed; but never had a minister that ruled the country for twenty long years, or for a half or a fourth of that time, done so little to enrich himself or his family—never had statesman and dispenser of patronage and places been

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more indifferent to his interests. Even in that long harangue he delivered against the public funeral,—and which, after all, was more a criticism on the wording of an epitaph, the inscription to be put on a tombstone, than anything else—Fox himself had confessed that no minister was ever more disinterested, as far as related to pecuniary matters; that his integrity and moderation in this respect were confirmed by the state of his affairs when he died.

As the king's antipathies to Fox were undiminished, an attempt was made to patch up the ministry which Pitt had formed, and to place Lord Hawkesbury at the head of it. But Lord Hawkesbury declined this dangerous promotion. It was whispered that the king then tried Addington, and that Addington refused, from a sense of the impracticability of forming a government capable of resisting the coalesced and formidable opposition. It is stated as a certainty that an offer was made to the Marquess Wellesley, who had just arrived from India, by the remainder of Pitt's ministry, and, of course, with the king's approbation, to take the lead of administration; and that the marquess immediately and distinctly declined it. Nothing therefore was left but to call in Lord Grenville; and, as Grenville was pledged to the Foxites, or to the principle of a comprehensive ministry with "all the talents" or chiefs of different parties in it, the king was at last compelled to admit Fox also. The following arrangements were finally settled, and were announced to the public on the 4th of February:—Lord Grenville, first lord of the treasury; Fox, secretary of state for foreign affairs; Viscount Sidmouth (Addington), lord privy seal; Earl Fitzwilliam, lord president of the council; Lord Howick (Grey), first lord of the admiralty; Earl of Moira, master-general of the ordnance; Earl Spencer, secretary of state for the home department; Windham, secretary for the colonies; Lord Henry Petty, chancellor of the exchequer; Erskine, lord high chancellor; and Sir Gilbert Elliot, who had been created Baron Minto after his return to England from losing Corsica, had the patronage and management of India as

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president of the board of control. All places were swept clean, and new men put into them. So sweeping a ministerial change had not been witnessed for many years. Among the minor appointments Sheridan obtained that of treasurer of the navy; and even this place, which gave him no seat in the cabinet, appears to have been grudgingly and reluctantly bestowed upon him. Lord Auckland became president of the board of trade, with Earl Temple for vice-president; Earl Temple (who had thus two places) and Lord John Townshend, joint-paymasters of the forces; General Fitzgerald, secretary at war, &c. &c. The law appointments were, Pigott to be attorney-general, and Sir Samuel Romilly to be solicitor-general. Law, who had been made lord chief justice of the King's Bench and created Baron Ellenborough in 1802 by the Addingtonians, was, by rather a startling novelty, brought into the cabinet. The Duke of Bedford, whose family, friends, and dependants had formed an important part of the mosaic opposition, became lord-lieutenant of Ireland. From the first this cabinet carried in its construction the seeds of its own dissolution: no one acquainted with public affairs, with the temper of the court, and of parliament and the country, believed that this "motley wear" would wear long; nor would it, even though Fox, the real but not the nominal head of it, had not been carried so soon to the Abbey. There was jealousy, incompatibility, and disagreement between Lord Grenville and Charles Fox. Windham, again, differed both with Grenville and with Fox on many essential points of home as well as of foreign policy; and Sidmouth differed from them all three. There was wanting, too, that harmony or sympathy with the court, without which no ministry can expect to do much good, or to enjoy a long existence.

As secretary for foreign affairs Fox had the management of the most important and the most difficult affairs of government. As he had been declaring for thirteen long years and more that the present war was unnecessary, that its origin was iniquitous as its conduct was imbecile, he could hardly do less than make some

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attempt to bring about a peace. It appears too that he calculated somewhat on his personal influence with Bonaparte, and on the pacific professions he had made to him during his visit to Paris. Upon some empty compliments and vague expressions now used by the conqueror, Fox commenced a long correspondence with Talleyrand for the purpose of obtaining—what was not to be obtained from Bonaparte without leaving him the master of the continent, without the sacrifice on our part of all public faith—a peace, a sure and durable peace. In his first letter on this great subject, Fox, who was now a minister and not a leader of opposition, confessed the difficulties which stood in the way of negotiation; that the treaty of Amiens could not now be taken as a basis, and that England could not think of consenting to a short and uncertain truce; and he declared that the British government was determined to keep faith with all its allies on the continent, and to conclude nothing except in concert with the Emperor of Russia, whose armies were still in the field, and to whom England was bound by the closest ties of alliance. On discovering the determination of the French cabinet not to admit the Emperor Alexander either as a contracting party or as a mediator, Fox ought to have broken off his correspondence; for the continuance of it could only dishearten the Russian army, and instil into the Russian cabinet doubts and misgivings as to the honesty and steadiness of the English cabinet: but Fox continued to write long letters to Talleyrand to betray an eagerness for entering upon negotiations, which the French, in spite of his declarations that England itself had nothing to fear—that her resources were as abundant as ever,—attributed to a terror of Bonaparte, and to an inward conviction of the inability of England to continue the war much longer. Talleyrand, whose letters savour of the dictation of Bonaparte, limited his correspondence to the expression of the vaguest ideas, avoiding every positive point, every word that might commit him or his court to any fixed line of action, and giving back to Fox, and with interest, his philanthropic apophthegms and generous syllogisms. This

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correspondence was good as a homily, or as a course of moral philosophy and philanthropy; but as a negotiation, or as a preliminary to a feasible and positive treaty of peace, it was nothing. Fox, upon a mere hint that such a measure would be taken as a proof of the sincerity of the British government, appointed Lord Yarmouth (the late Marquess of Hertford) to act as minister plenipotentiary at Paris. Lord Yarmouth had long been living in France—at the English depôt at Verdun—having been one of the ten thousand and more travellers seized and detained as prisoners of war, at the rupture of the peace of Amiens. Before his lordship could enter upon any discussion the French invaded and conquered the kingdom of Naples, and put forth a claim to the possession of its dependency the island of Sicily, where a small British army had now been collected to defend our fugitive ally the Bourbon king. There was on both sides a promise that these negotiations should be kept a profound secret—an agreement dishonourable to England; but the French, who hoped to break up our alliances, adroitly divulged the secret to the court of St. Petersburg and to well nigh every court in Europe. Hence arose a downright quarrel between Lord Yarmouth and M. D'Oubril, the Russian minister at Paris. The conditions proposed by Bonaparte were inadmissible—were monstrously unjust; and it was with good reason that Spencer Percival afterwards declared in the House of Commons, that no negotiations could be entered into with the present head of the French government without contamination. But Fox, persevering in the path he had chosen, determined to send over to Paris a public and openly acredited plenipotentiary to treat for peace. The person he selected for this mission was Lord Lauderdale. The Scotch earl soon found he could do no more than the English earl had done. Lauderdale's negotiations lasted from the 9th of August to the 6th of October, when they were broken off by a demand for passports. Fox had laid down no basis, or none on which Bonaparte's negotiators would meet him; and the results of his pacific policy were an increase of presumption on the part of the

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French, and of diffidence and suspicion on the part of our allies.

We return to the business of parliament. Mr. Windham brought in his plan for altering the military system, and particularly the mode of recruiting the army, which certainly called imperiously for improvement, as hitherto men had been enlisted for life. Conscription or force, he said, could not be resorted to in England: the enlistments must be voluntary, and, to render them prompt and sufficient in number, the term of service must be limited, and the condition of the soldier improved; the trade of the soldier must be brought to a competition with the other trades usually followed by the poorer classes. For this purpose, Windham proposed that the soldiers raised in future should be enlisted for a term of years; that this term should be divided, for the infantry, into three periods of seven years each; and, for the cavalry and artillery, the first period to be ten years, the second six, and the third five years; that at the end of each of those periods a man might have a right to claim his discharge, and that his privileges, pensions, &c., should be augmented in proportion to the length of his service. As the first step necessary to introduce this change, Windham moved for a bill to repeal Pitt's Additional Force Bill. Here he encountered the full force of opposition, with speeches from Castlereagh and Canning. But on the 14th of May the Repealing Bill passed through the Commons. In the Lords it met with great opposition; but it was finally carried. Windham's plan for limited service was then introduced (on May 30th) by way of a clause to be inserted in the Annual Mutiny Bill. The opposition was again powerful; but the clause was voted and inserted. A bill for the training of a certain number of persons, not exceeding 200,000, out of those that were liable to be drawn for the militia; a bill to suspend the ballot for the militia in England for two years, with a reserved power to government of recurring to it in order to supply the vacancies of any corps which should be reduced below its quota; a bill called the Chelsea Hospital Bill, to give a legal security to invalid,

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disabled, and discharged soldiers for such pensions and allowances as they were entitled to; a bill for augmenting the pay of infantry officers of the regular army; and a bill for settling the relative rank of officers of yeomanry, volunteers, militia forces, and troops of the line; completed Windham's new military system, and were all carried, though not without opposition. An increase was also voted to the pay of serjeants, corporals, and privates of the line, to the Chelsea pensions, and to the pensions of officers' widows—three points on which the House was unanimous. On the whole the British army, which began to improve rapidly soon after these enactments—though certainly the improvement was not owing solely to them—owes a debt of gratitude to Windham. Similar benefits were voted to the navy. On the motion of Lord Howick, the head of the admiralty, additional pay was allowed to the officers, petty officers, and seamen, and the Greenwich Hospital allowances to out-pensioners were increased. But there was a most unwise and unpatriotic-looking delay in voting the proper honours and rewards to those who had fought at Trafalgar.

The budget for the year was opened by the chancellor of the exchequer, Lord Henry Petty, on the 28th of March. The permanent taxes were stated at 32,535,971*l.* The requisite supplies for the year were put at 48,916,000*l.* Of this enormous sum 15,281,000*l.* were to be applied to the navy—18,500,000*l.* to the army—4,718,000*l.* to the ordnance, including ordnance sea-service. Among the proposed ways and means were another loan of 18,000,000*l.*, and war-taxes to the amount of 19,500,000*l.* The new chancellor of the exchequer showed himself a good accountant and a clear expositor; but he gave on this occasion no proof of financial genius; he showed no originality of conception; and, though nurtured in the school of Adam Smith and the Edinburgh philosophers and economists, he laid on or retained taxes which could not but have an injurious effect on manufactures and commerce. He imposed, for example, a duty of forty shillings a ton on pig-iron. He also kept up that old petty-tax system, by which a modicum of money was

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raised at an infinitude of trouble and vexation, and wherein, in some instances, the amount was half eaten up by the expenses of collection. He imposed an additional duty on beer and spirits in Ireland, and a paltry tax on appraisements, which was calculated at 66,000*l.* per annum. But his lordship's great financial move was the simple but bold one of raising the income or property tax from 6½ to 10 per cent., and making it to extend to all property above 50*l.* a-year. The pig-iron tax, which he calculated would yield 500,000*l.* per annum, met with a great opposition; but this was nothing compared to the storm raised by the sudden and high increase of the property-tax to 10 per cent. In spite of their dangerous, demoralising effects, lotteries were continued as a source of revenue to government. Lord Henry Petty, however, introduced sundry improvements in the auditing of accounts, in regulating the excise-office, custom-house, and other public offices, so as to prevent the practice of public officers deriving profit from the public money in their hands. Some slight improvements were also made in the acts regulating commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland, and a law was passed for permitting the free interchange of grain of every kind between the two islands.

But the glory of this session, and of this ministry, is held to be the blow struck at the slave-trade. By the labours of many years, Wilberforce, Clarkson, and their numerous and influential friends, had at last *prepared* the majority of the country and of parliament for this measure, which, from the beginning, had been favoured by the advocacy and eloquence of Pitt, who had delivered some of the best speeches he ever spoke on the subject. This *preparation* had been slow and gradual; and it appears probable that measures which could not be carried in 1805 under Pitt, were carried in 1806 under Fox, simply because the time was more ripe for them. Yet, even now, the measures carried were far less extensive than is generally imagined;—they were only instalments and advances towards a total suppression of the slave-trade—some few instalments the more added to those

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several acts and resolutions which had been passed in favour of the negroes during Pitt's long administration. We repeat, it was the work of time: and, possibly (if there is blame), Pitt was no more to be blamed for not doing, at an early period, what Fox did, than Fox is to be blamed for not doing what was done a quarter of a century after his death, when the Whig government of Earl Grey proclaimed the emancipation of the negroes.

If Pitt had not been able to prevent the impeachment of his friend and colleague when alive and in power, there was but slight chance that that prosecution would be let sleep now that he was gone, and his adversaries in place. The trial commenced in Westminster Hall on the 29th of April before the Lords, the members of the House of Commons being present in a committee of the whole House. The articles of the charge were ten in number; but in substance only three. 1. That, as treasurer of the navy, Lord Melville had applied divers sums of public money to his private use and profit. 2. That he had permitted his paymaster, Trotter, to take large sums of money from the Bank of England, issued to it on account of the treasurer of the navy, and to place it in his own name with his private banker. 3. That he had permitted Trotter to apply the money so abstracted to purposes of private emolument, and had himself derived profit therefrom.

Whitbread, the chief manager, was not a Burke; office-books and bankers' accounts were but indifferent materials for rhetoric; a very large portion of the public, now that the first excitement was worn away, were weary of the subject; and of the upper classes the majority, though admitting some carelessness and irregularity, considered Dundas as an ill-used man: nearly all the attractions were wanting that crowded Westminster Hall with rank, genius, and fashion at the commencement of Warren Hastings's trial: the attendance was thin and flat, and the proceedings were run over pretty much in the manner of an auditing of accounts. It was made perfectly clear that Mr. Trotter had made up for the miserable deficiency of his salary by deriving profit from the bank-

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ing-house of Coutts on the deposits; that Melville had made temporary use of some sums of money, but had repaid them all, and with interest: but Whitbread's evidence failed altogether in proving that Melville had ever sought private emolument from the deposits, or had ever abstracted any public money with the intention of keeping it for himself.

There were altogether only sixteen days of trial. Fox, Sheridan, Lord Howick, Lord Henry Petty, and Dr. F. Laurence, though managers, scarcely opened their lips during the proceedings; and, except two long, hard, and dry orations from Whitbread, no speech was delivered on that side. On June the 12th, the sixteenth day of the trial, the Lords voted on the several charges. The number of peers that voted was 135. When the clerk, with the lord chancellor, had cast up the numbers at the woolpack, the chancellor ordered proclamation for silence; which being made, his lordship addressed the House:—"My Lords, a majority of the Lords have acquitted Henry Viscount Melville of the high crimes and misdemeanours charged upon him by the impeachment of the Commons, and of all things contained therein." Their lordships adjourned to the chamber of parliament; and, the chancellor having announced there that the impeachment was dismissed, the whole business, which had cost the country some thousands of pounds, ended.

The present ministry, by their new bill, and their debates on the regular army, in which they spoke disparagingly of the yeomanry and volunteers, had given great offence to a very numerous part of the nation; their financial measures gained them no credit with the country at large; but what drew down upon them the greatest weight of discredit and unpopularity, was their ungenerous conduct with respect to that unhappy woman the Princess of Wales.

Parliament was prorogued on the 23rd of July. During the last month of this session ill health had wholly prevented the attendance of Fox. It was evident to most of his friends that he was rapidly following Pitt to the grave.

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A.D. 1806.—Our military operations in the course of this year extended to the south of Italy and Sicily, Portugal, the Cape of Good Hope, the East and West Indies, and South America. The petty expedition which had been sent into the Mediterranean under General Sir James Craig, being joined by a Russian force, landed at Naples in the month of November, 1805, when the French army, under General St. Cyr, which had been occupying a great part of that kingdom, was absent in Upper Italy, co-operating with Marshal Massena. Before St. Cyr took his departure the Neapolitan government promised to remain neutral; but that engagement, like so many others, was contracted under the influence of fear and weakness, and Ferdinand IV., though deploring the smallness of their forces, received the English and Russians as friends and deliverers. If the allies had been more numerous, and if they had arrived six weeks or two months earlier, they might have set the whole of Lower Italy in a blaze against the French; they might have ensured the destruction of St. Cyr's *corps d'armée*, and have prevented every one of the successes which Massena had obtained over the Archduke Charles in Upper Italy. But as things were—with their contemptible numbers and too tardy arrival—the English and Russians could do little but hasten the ruin of Ferdinand IV. As soon as Bonaparte learned the breach of the promised neutrality, or the arrival of the Russians and English (whose landing Ferdinand could not have prevented if he had been ever so much disposed to do it), he issued from Vienna one of his terrible proclamations, declaring that the Bourbon dynasty of Naples had ceased to reign. As the battle of Austerlitz and the peace with Austria had left his armies nothing to do in the north of Italy, he ordered St. Cyr to retrace his steps to the south with all possible speed. But St. Cyr's forces were only the van of a much more formidable army: Marshal Massena followed close behind with three great columns, and a multitude of generals of name and fame; and behind them all came Joseph Bonaparte, destined by his brother to fill this Bourbon throne. In

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all, counting the Italian regiments which had been raised in Lombardy and Piedmont, more than 70,000 men were in full march for the Neapolitan frontier, behind which lay 3000 British, about 4000 Russians, and a small and disorganised Neapolitan army, which was worth less than nothing. The Russian general presently informed the Neapolitan court that they had better negotiate with St. Cyr for a renewal of the neutrality which they had violated, and that, for his own part, he must be gone; and, before the foremost French column reached Rome, the Russians marched away to the seaports of Apulia and embarked for Corfu. Sir James Craig could only follow the example of the Russian general: he fled rather than retreated from the banks of the Garigliano. Without seeing an enemy, except in the Neapolitan peasantry, whose vengeance they provoked, Craig's force was found to be considerably reduced before he could embark and sail away for Sicily. None were left to defend the frontiers or the line of the Garigliano, except Fra Diavolo and a few hundreds of brigands and insurgents. As soon as the *débâcle* began, old King Ferdinand, thinking most of his personal safety, embarked for Palermo: Queen Caroline remained till the 11th of February, when St. Cyr had crossed the frontiers; but on the evening of that day, not without a risk of being seized by her own subjects of the French faction (and in the capital they were very numerous), she fled with her daughters on board ship, and sailed for Sicily to join her husband. On the application of Ferdinand IV., Admiral Lord Collingwood had dispatched a small squadron, under Sir Sidney Smith, to give such aid and assistance as should be practicable. Sir James Craig soon collected his troops in the neighbourhood of Palermo, and for a considerable time the court owed its safety entirely to the presence of our petty army and two or three of our ships. On the morning of the 14th of February the advanced guard of the French appeared on the heights which overlook Naples. On the 15th of February, the garrisons in the city and forts having previously surrendered, Joseph Bonaparte entered Naples,

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and took up his abode, as king, in the palace from which the Bourbons had so lately fled. Previously to his ignominious flight, Ferdinand had dispatched his two sons, the Hereditary Prince Francis, and Prince Leopold, into the Abruzzi and into Calabria, to rouse the hardy native population of those mountainous countries. There was no want of loyalty in the peasantry; but more than half of the Neapolitan nobility and proprietors were, at this moment, either indifferent to the cause of the Bourbons, or inclined to favour the cause of the French; the poor people had no arms, ammunition, or other necessaries; and the Royal Princes had nothing to give them save compliments and white cockades. A little later the French found Calabria the fiercest and most destructive country they had ever entered; but this was when the population had been driven to despair, and after supplies and ammunition had been thrown among them from Sicily. For the present no stand could be made: the two princes fled over to Sicily, and the French general Regnier subdued or seemed to subdue the whole of Calabria with the exception of a few towns. The English had gained possession of the rocky island of Capri, which commands the Gulf of Naples, and some Sicilians, under the command of the Prince of Canosa, occupied Ponza and other islands off the coast. In advancing from Rome, Massena and St. Cyr had not been able to reduce Gaeta, a formidable fortress on the Neapolitan coast, which happened to be garrisoned by some trustworthy troops, chiefly foreigners, in the pay of the Bourbon King, and commanded by an officer of honour and courage, a Prince William of Hesse-Philipstadt. Sir Sidney Smith threw succours into the place, battered the works of the French besiegers, landed English sailors as he had done at Acre, and inflicted several severe blows upon Massena's forces, at various parts of the coast. The siege of Gaeta promised to be a long affair. When first summoned by the French, the German Prince told them that Gaeta was not Ulm, and that he was not Mack—and the French felt the truth of the assertion.

In Calabria General Regnier, after three days' despe-

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rate and bloody fighting, carried the walled towns of Maratea, into which a great number of the Bourbon partisans had thrown themselves. The castle capitulated on the next day; but, as it was pretended that these Bourbonists were not regular troops, but only partisans and insurgents, they were butchered in cold blood. Leaving Maratea in flames, the French advanced to the siege of Amantea. Amantea could not be taken by the French; Reggio was retaken from them; the castle of Scylla, which had surrendered to the French, was invested. Regnier was compelled to halt, and then to retreat towards Monteleone. By this time, the British troops in Sicily had been reinforced, and the command of them transferred to Sir John Stuart. On the entreaties of the queen, which were seconded by his personal feelings and his own ardent wishes, Sir John agreed to cross over into Calabria. All the force he could take with him, including artillery, did not amount to 5000 men;* and of these above a third were Corsicans, Sicilians, and other foreigners in English pay. On the 1st of July Sir John Stuart effected a landing in the gulf of Sant' Eufemia, not far from the town of Nicastro, to the northward of Monteleone, and between that city and Naples. Apprised of this disembarkation, General Regnier made a rapid march, uniting, as he advanced, his detached corps, for the purpose of attacking the English without loss of time, and of driving them into the sea or back to their shipping. Instead of encamping on the beach, to have the co-operation of shipping, Stuart marched some distance along the beach, and then struck boldly inward to meet Regnier. All the artillery that Sir John had brought with him from Sicily consisted of ten 4-pounders, four 6-pounders, and two howitzers; and from this formidable artillery, scarcely a shot seems to have been fired except as a signal, or for measuring distances. The battle of Maida was a battle of bayonets. The French advanced with a quickened step, and with

* Sir John Stuart in his dispatch states his total number, rank and file, including the royal artillery, at 4795.

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their wonted cheers:—they were veterans, thoroughly trained, and looking martial and fierce with their moustachios; the English line consisted in good part of young and beardless recruits:—it was the boast of the French, and the boast had grown louder since the encounter with the Russians at Austerlitz, that no troops in Europe would stand their bayonet charge;—the fact was now to be proved, though not in an equal contest, for, to have an equality, Stuart ought to have had veterans to oppose to veterans. But such men as we had disproved the boast. They gave one true English hurrah, and rushed on with their bayonets levelled. Some few of the French really stayed to cross bayonets (a rare occurrence in war); but these were overthrown or pushed back by the superior physical strength of their adversaries; and the rest of them became appalled, halted, fell back, and recovered arms. The French officers were now seen running along the line, resorting to those extraordinary efforts which French officers are expected to make at every crisis; but nothing they could do could encourage their men, or lead them back to the points of the English bayonets; and as the English advanced upon them the 1ere Légère broke their line, fell into irremediable disorder, and endeavoured to fly back to the hills. But it was too late—they had got too close—they were overtaken by a most dreadful slaughter. Being thus completely discomfited on his left, Regnier, who had been galloping about the field, storming and cursing like a madman, began to make a new effort with his right, in the hope of recovering the day. He threw horse and foot on Stuart's left; but only to see them beaten in a trice. He made a fruitless essay to turn our flank, and this was the last feeble struggle that Regnier made; and, after it, was nothing but flight, confusion, *débâcle*. A Frenchman, a man of genius, the wittiest and one of the best prose writers of modern France, was attached to the service of the boastful French general at the time, and was too noble a fellow to cover over the defeat with falsehood and invention.* He wrote

* Paul Louis Courier.

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to his friends that bulletins and Moniteurs might say what they liked; but that the plain truth was, that Regnier had been most thoroughly beaten,—had been well thrashed by Stuart—*bien rossé*. "This adventure," says he, in writing to a French artillery officer at Naples, "is a very sad one for poor Regnier! The French fought nowhere. All eyes are fixed upon us. With our good troops, and with equal forces, to be defeated in such a few minutes!—This has not been seen since our Revolution."* This writer does not state the amount of Regnier's loss; but another French officer, who was in Calabria some time after the battle, admits that he left 1500 men dead or wounded on the battle-field. Sir John Stuart, in the dispatch to his government, dated from the camp on the plain of Maida, July the 6th, or two days after the affair, says that above 700 bodies of their dead had been buried upon the ground; that the wounded and prisoners already in his hands (among whom were General Compère, the colonel of a Swiss regiment, and a long list of officers of different ranks) exceeded 1000; and that the peasantry were hourly bringing in fugitives, who had dispersed in the woods and mountains after the battle. By the official return of the assistant-adjutant-general, the loss of the British amounted to 1 officer, 3 serjeants, 41 rank and file killed; 11 officers, 8 serjeants, 2 drummers, 261 rank and file wounded. Sir John declares that no statement he had heard of Regnier's numbers placed them at less than 7000 men, when they began the action. Regnier, we know positively, had entered Calabria with 10,000: a part of the force he first brought with him had been detached to distant points, and some few hundreds had already fallen under the knife of the vindictive, infuriated Calabrians; but, on the other hand, there had been a constant influx of reinforcements, and, upon a comparison of various French and Italian accounts, it appears quite certain that Regnier descended from his wooded heights with from 6000 to 7000 fighting men.

* Letter dated Cassano, the 12th August, 1806, in *Mémoires, Correspondance, &c.*

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General Verdier, who was occcupying Cosenza, an important town, a few miles to the north of Maida, with a French brigade, was driven out of the place by the insurgents. Every fort along the coasts of the Tyrrhenian Sea, with all the French depôts of stores, ammunition, and artillery, prepared for the reduction of Calabria, and then for the attack of Sicily, became the prey of Sir John Stuart's little army: and on the shores of the Ionian Sea, to which the Freneh had retreated, Cotrone, situated between Catanzaro and Matera, was reduced to capitulate by the 78th regiment—a part of Stuart's force, which was carried round by sea—and by a small squadron of ships, under the command of Captain William Hoste, who was assisted by some Sicilian gun-boats, and by some of the armed Calabrians.—On the 4th of August Regnier reached Cassano; on the 7th he was joined by Verdier, who retraced his steps from Matera; and on the 11th these two wandering, fugitive generals effected a junction with Marshal Massena, who then assumed the supreme command in the Calabrias, assuring King Joseph that in one month he would reduce those two provinces to submission and loyalty to him. But though the great Marshal—the darling child of Victory, as they called him—brought with him a fresh army of 6000 or 7000 men, and remained much longer than a month in that wild country, he did not fulfil his promise. Fortresses were recovered, towns were taken and burned; the more level or open parts of the provinces were kept in subjection; but to subdue the fiery furious mountaineers, or even to secure constantly the high roads which led fron the capital, was found to be impracticable. It took Massena's successors five long years, and it cost the French army, from first to last, 100,000 men to quench the flames of this ardent Calabrian insurrection—and then it was that sort of peace which proceeds from solitude and extermination.

If, instead of less than 5000 men, Sir John Stuart had had with him 10,000, he might have cleared Upper Calabria, as he did Lower Calabria, of the last Frenchman in it; backed by the Calabrians alone, he might have

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hurled Regnier and Verdier, the great Marshal Massena and all, down the precipices of the Syla mountain, or have destroyed them at the edge of the province, in the passes of Campotanese. With 30,000 men he might have swept Naples and the whole of southern Italy clear of the French, and have caused the greatest embarrassment to Bonaparte, who had weakened his army in the north of Italy, in order to collect the greater force for the war with Prussia. Almost immediately after the battle of Maida the white flag of the Bourbon was actually raised in nearly every part of the kingdom: the mountaineers of Basilicata and Capitanata, of Principato-Citro and Principato-Ultro, of the wild and lofty pastoral regions of the Molise, flew to arms; a daring partisan, named Picciolo, raised nearly the whole population of the Abruzzi; and Fra Diavolo, a half-brigand half Bourbon partisan, scoured the Terra di Lavoro, and the garden plains that lie behind Naples, penetrating at times almost to the gates of the city. The intrusive King Joseph lost heart completely: in his council of state it was anxiously discussed, whether he ought not to fly to the frontiers of the kingdom, collect there the army of Calabria, and all his other troops save a few garrisons, and await there the arrival of another army from France. But it was not the half of the Italian peninsula, but the vaster peninsula which embraces Spain and Portugal, that was destined to be the great battle-field of England. With less than 5000 men, Sir John Stuart could not follow up his brilliant success; his little army was reduced by the malaria fevers; he had neither time nor the necessary means to attempt organising and disciplining the very disorderly Calabrians; and after clearing the lower province of the enemy, and throwing some small garrisons into the Castle of Scylla, and one or two other places he had captured, Sir John embarked the rest of his forces, and returned to Sicily, which the French long continued to threaten with invasion.

With admirable exertions Sir Sidney Smith collected some more supplies and succours and sent a second convoy to the besieged Gaeta. Every thing went well so long

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as Sir Sidney was there and the brave governor of the fortress was in a state to do his duty; but the presence of the British admiral was required at Palermo,—where the court thought itself in danger so long as he was absent,—at Messina, at Reggio, along both coasts of the Calabrias; Prince Hesse-Philipstadt received a mortal wound on the ramparts where Sir Sidney had so often stood by his side; the command fell to a Colonel Storz, who had bravery and skill, but infinitely less authority than the Prince; that origin of all evil in war, a council, was created: and then, collectively, the superior officers of the besieged agreed to do what, perhaps, not one of them would have done singly—to beat a parley and capitulate. Massena said that the fall of Gaeta was equivalent to a successful campaign.

The Cape of Good Hope, which the Addington administration had given up so prematurely, was recovered in the month of January, by Sir David Baird with 5000 land-troops, and Sir Home Popham with a small fleet. Tempted by very inaccurate reports of the wealth and weakness of the Spanish colonies on the Rio de la Plata, Sir Home Popham, it is said, without the slightest authority from the government at home, ventured to carry his whole naval force to South America, and induced Sir David Baird to allow General Beresford to accompany him, with a portion of the land-force which had conquered the Cape. Having touched at St. Helena, Popham and Beresford arrived at the mouth of La Plata early in June, and on the 24th of that month landed the troops at some distance from Buenos Ayres. The whole force disembarked, including marines, did not exceed 1600 men. Some Spanish troops, who attempted to dispute their passage, were dispersed by a single volley; and on the 27th of June, favourable terms of capitulation having been granted to the inhabitants, Beresford entered the city without resistance. The news of the capture of Buenos Ayres was received with transports of joy by our trading community, and by that part of the cabinet and country which clung to the paltry idea of making war for what they termed British objects, or exclusively national

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interests. The cabinet, on first learning Sir Home Popham's wild enterprise, had sent out orders to recall him; but, as these orders did not reach the Admiral in time, as the conquest had been made with so much ease, as a million of dollars remitted by him was looked upon as a valuable consideration, and as the popular joy and commercial exultation were so great, ministers now sanctioned the whole scheme, and resolved to keep what had been gotten without their will. But, before people at home had finished rejoicing for the conquest, the conquest was no more, and the capturers were captives. As soon as the Spaniards and the colonists became generally aware of the smallness of Beresford's force, they began to concert measures for his expulsion. A popular insurrection was organised in the heart of the city; emissaries were sent to excite the hardy country-people to arms; and, when everything was ripe for action, M. Liniers, a Frenchman in the Spanish service, crossed the river in a fog on the 14th of August, and landed above Buenos Ayres with more than 1000 fighting men, whom he had brought from Monte Video and Sacramento. Other armed levies joined Liniers, who now advanced against the city. Then, within the walls, the inhabitants rose upon Beresford, who attempted to retreat to the ships, but was prevented by the bad state of the weather. After a desperate action in the streets and great square of the town, in which they were exposed to a fierce and destructive fire from the windows and balconies, and the house-tops, the English capitulated and laid down their arms. Sir Home Popham, who had the good fortune to be on board ship at the time, then blockaded the Rio de la Plata. He then proceeded to make an attack on Monte Video, but his ships could not get near enough to batter the walls. In the month of October, successive reinforcements having arrived from the Cape of Good Hope and from England (where the cabinet ought to have foreseen Beresford's fate), he landed a body of troops at Maldonado, drove the Spaniards from the Isle of Goriti, and took up good anchoring-ground and quarters on shore to await the arrival of more reinforcements.

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Returning from his Austrian conquests Bonaparte had entered Paris in triumph in the month of January. Before this time he appears to have determined to put crowns upon the heads of all his brothers except Lucien. It was on the 30th of March that he invested his brother Joseph. On the 5th of June he proclaimed his brother Louis King of Holland, thus transforming by a stroke of the pen the Batavian republic into a kingdom dependent on France. In giving Louis his investiture, he told him that, though he was going to reign over the Dutch, he must never cease to be a Frenchman; that his hereditary dignity of Constable of the Empire must constantly remind him of the duties he owed to the Emperor of the French:—in other words, poor Louis was told that he must do whatever his brother should command.

The Confederation of the Rhine had elected the Emperor Napoleon to be their "Protector." By a secret treaty, which was made public about the end of July, the Kings of Bavaria and Wurtemberg, the Elector Archchancellor of the Germanic empire, the Elector of Baden, the Grand Duke of Berg and Cleves (Murat), the Prince of Hesse-Darmstadt, and ten other petty sovereign princes, separated themselves from the Germanic empire, and united in a distinct confederation, to be guided by its own Diet and under its own primate. This primate was declared to be the elector ex-chancellor of the empire; but the Emperor Napoleon was to have the right of naming this primate's successor. All these German states were to be bound to one another and to France by an alliance offensive and defensive. In case of another coalition and continental war, they were all to act together, France engaging to furnish 200,000 men, Bavaria 30,000, Wurtemberg 12,000, Baden 8000, Berg and Cleves 5000, Darmstadt and the other states 4000 each. This arrangement went to array 100,000 German troops on the side of Bonaparte and against the liberty and independence of Germany. Other states were invited to join the confederation.

Bonaparte felt himself humbled by the concessions he had been obliged to make to Prussia; and he retained a

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bitter recollection of the uneasiness her undecided line of conduct had several times caused him during his last campaign. He calculated that a great deal might be gained by going to war with her; and he doubted whether, if ever so much disposed to remain at peace with her, she would not take an early opportunity of appealing to arms. He knew that there was, and long had been, a strong war or anti-Gallican party at Berlin, headed by the Queen of Prussia and Prince Louis, the king's cousin—a party who had all along deplored the mean, shuffling conduct of their cabinet. Hence Bonaparte was induced to give an underhand encouragement to the propagation of slanders and invented stories, injurious to the character of her Prussian majesty, and offensive beyond measure to the feelings of the king, her husband, by whom she was tenderly and almost romantically beloved. This was Bonaparte's constant practice; this was a species of offence which he committed upon principle. Jupiter Scapin had studied in the school of Don Basile. His calumnies against the Queen of Prussia were the more atrocious, as they were directed against an interesting and beautiful young woman, exemplary in her private conduct, and high-minded, and enthusiastically patriotic in her political aspirations.

On seeing the effects of the Confederation of the Rhine, which almost surrounded her with hostile states, or with neighbours devoted or subjected to France, Prussia had some reason to complain. Bonaparte answered her murmurs by making the 'Moniteur' talk of Prussia as a secondary power, which was assuming a high tone not warranted by its population and extent, or by its actual position. A part of the victorious army which had fought at Austerlitz had been left beyond the Rhine, to preside over the organization of that new confederacy, or to live at free quarters among the rich trading Hanse Towns, which had lost their trade, and were fast losing all their wealth. According to the treaty of Presburg, all these French corps ought to have evacuated Germany. Bonaparte, if he did not absolutely refuse to withdraw

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his troops from beyond the Rhine, certainly left them just where they were, and denied that Prussia or any other power had a right to complain of their presence. It even appears that he reinforced those troops the very moment Prussia began to murmur, or the very moment he began to insult her in his 'Moniteur.' At the beginning of September he collected his great captains around him in Paris—Soult, Augereau, and Bernadotte, who had been serving in Germany, and Murat, who had been residing for a season in his grand-duchy of Berg, and he consulted with them as to the best means of commencing and conducting a campaign against Prussia, so as to render it as rapid and decisive as his last campaign against Austria.

In a note delivered to Talleyrand on the 1st of October, General Knobelsdorff said, and said truly, "that the king his master saw around his territories none but French soldiers or vassals of France, ready to march at his signal;" and he peremptorily required that the French troops should forthwith evacuate the territory of Germany. To this Bonaparte made answer, in the haughtiest tone of defiance, that for Prussia to provoke the enmity of France was as senseless a course as to pretend to withstand the waves of the ocean! On the 9th of October the King of Prussia, who had put his army in motion, issued a long manifesto from his head-quarters at Erfurt. This was the war-note; there was no formal declaration of hostilities on either part. But, before the signal was given, Bonaparte, having quitted Paris on the 25th of September, was on the Rhine and quite ready to begin operations. He had, in fact, been in a state of readiness ever since the beginning of August; for at that time his army of Germany, then under the supreme command of Berthier, was extended from Baden to Dusseldorff, and from Frankfort to Nuremberg—the main body being in a manner already in position, and only waiting the arrival of the reserve.

The Emperor of Russia had refused to ratify a disgraceful treaty which his minister d'Oubril had really signed separately at Paris during Lord Lauderdale's ne-

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gotiations, and was again in the field, though far away beyond the Vistula. The Prussians have been taxed with the same fault which the Austrians had committed in 1805 in not waiting for the arrival of the Russians in Germany. But, by the time it became known at Berlin that the Emperor Alexander had refused to ratify the treaty of peace with France, Bonaparte was fully prepared to commence operations against Prussia, and his cunning negotiator, General Sebastiani, having been dispatched to Constantinople, had got up a "very pretty quarrel" between the Ottoman Porte and Russia, a quarrel which led to the Sultan's abandoning his former alliances with England and Russia, to the hasty contracting of a new alliance with France, and to an actual war between the Turks and Russians, which commenced in November, and gave occupation to a large part of the tzar's army. The cabinet of Berlin has been also censured for not waiting for pecuniary aid and other succours from England; but our cabinet, neither before the crisis nor after it, showed any great alacrity or liberality; the succour from England, like the arrival of armies from Russia, seemed distant and uncertain.

On the intelligence that Prussia had taken possession of Hanover, and had closed her ports to the British flag, Fox had recalled our ambassador from Berlin, an embargo had been laid upon all Prussian vessels in the harbours of Great Britain and Ireland, and the Elbe, the Weser, and the other German rivers had been again declared in a state of blockade. At the first symptom of the political change in the cabinet of Berlin, our government had professed a readiness to renew friendly relations; they had instantly removed the blockade of the ports and rivers, which had caused much inconvenience to Prussia, and the whole of the North of Germany; and they dispatched Lord Morpeth on an embassy to his Prussian majesty. But Lord Morpeth, who did not quit London until the 1st of October, did not reach the Prussian head-quarters at Weimar, until the 12th, when the two hostile armies were almost in presence of each other.

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The force which Bonaparte brought into the field was numerically superior to the Prussian army by nearly one-third; as he advanced he had in his front and on both his flanks none but friendly states; the armies of the Confederation of the Rhine were ready to co-operate with him; and he had in his rear, behind the Rhine, an immense force in disciplined troops, as he had anticipated a whole year's conscription, or raised in 1806 the levies which by law ought to have been raised in 1807. Prussia, on the other hand, had only one reluctant ally, the Elector of Saxony, who evidently would have behaved now towards Prussia as Prussia had behaved towards the coalition in the preceding autumn, if the Prince of Hohenlohe had not marched into the country at the head of a division of the Prussian army. One or two of the petty states, expecting subsidies from England, which did not arrive, professed a perfect neutrality.

In one particular the Prussians followed pretty closely the fatal example of the Austrians in 1805; they extended their line of operations far too much, being almost incredibly oblivious of the very simple and never varying tactics of their adversary. On the 6th of October, Bonaparte had collected his columns about Bamberg; and on the 8th (four days before Lord Morpeth's arrival at Weimar), he commenced a variety of skilful and successful but very simple movements, which ended in his turning the Prussian left, in his gaining possession of most of their magazines, and interposing between their main body and the city of Berlin.

The French were now posted along the river Saal from Naumburg to Kahla, with their centre at Jena. The Prussians were ranged between Jena and Auerstadt. The road to Dresden, the capital of Saxony, lay as open to the French as the road to Berlin. The Duke of Brunswick, the commander-in-chief of the Prussian army, called in his outposts, which had been imprudently scattered in all directions, and concentrated, as much as it was possible, the masses of his left, at Auerstadt. The Queen of Prussia, mounted on horseback, rode along the splendid lines, to encourage, by her presence, the 50,000

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fighting men collected on that point. On the 14th of October the fine Prussian army was defeated, and the ill-amalgamated Prussian monarchy, the work of the great Frederick's whole life, was absolutely shattered by the double battle of Auerstadt and Jena. Except Blucher and Lestocq, who kept some regiments together, and fought bravely with them, the conduct of the Prussian generals, after the day of the double battle, seems to have been about equally void of spirit and of ability. The way in which several of the fortresses were surrendered exposes some of them to very dark suspicions. Spandau, Stettin, Kustrin, Hameln, Nieuburg, Magdeburg, all surrendered without attempting the least resistance.

On the 18th of October Marshal Davoust, with nothing to oppose him in Saxony, took quiet possession of the city of Leipsic. The Elector of Saxony, who had so reluctantly joined Prussia, immediately made overtures to Bonaparte for a separate peace, and a beginning was soon made to that close un-German alliance which gave the elector a kingly crown, with a vast accession of territory, chiefly torn from the Prussian monarchy, and which bound Saxony to Bonaparte for seven long eventful years.

Still keeping uppermost in his mind his war against English commerce, Bonaparte dispatched Marshal Mortier to occupy the free trading city of Hamburg, and seize all British goods and property there. Berlin became a sort of lay Vatican, whence the Emperor of the French hurled his thunderbolts at our broadcloth and calicos. The well-known Berlin Decree was issued on the 21st of November. It was simple and concise enough:—The British Islands were to be considered in a state of blockade by all the Continent. All correspondence or trade with England was forbidden under the severest penalties. All articles of English manufacture or produce of the British colonies were declared to be contraband. Property of every kind belonging to British subjects, wherever found, was declared lawful prize. All letters to and from England were to be detained and opened at the post-offices.

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The King of Prussia had fled for refuge into the fortress of Königsberg, on the Pregel. Out of the wreck of the army General Lestocq was enabled to assemble there a few thousand men for the protection of his sovereign. But the main reliance of Frederick-William was on the Emperor Alexander, who was now in Poland and advancing towards the Vistula. In Poland, the Russian emperor was standing on unfriendly ground, for the seizure and partitions of that unhappy country had excited, if not the great body of the people, the majority of the nobility and upper classes, to direct hostility or mortal hatred against the three partitioning powers; the feeling, for evident reasons, being more vehement against Russia than against Prussia and Austria. Bonaparte, who had long had a great number of Poles in his army—fugitives from the army of independence of Kosciuszko, or men otherwise victims of the last unfortunate Polish war—had often entertained them with prospects and hopes of re-establishing Poland as an independent nation, and of restoring them, and their brothers in exile and poverty, to their native country, their confiscated property, and their lost places and honours. With these delusive visions he had completely dazzled many of these Poles, and had created in them an enthusiastic attachment to his person and his fortunes. He now applied to the patriot Kosciuszko for the high sanction of his name. But Kosciuszko, who had constantly declined entering his service, saw clearly through Bonaparte's selfish designs, was proof to every temptation, and would not quit his retirement. As he was living in France an excuse was needful: he stated that the effects of his numerous wounds, and his general bad health, prevented him from sharing in the fatigues of war. But to his confidential friends the single-minded patriot said, that liberty was not to be expected from the French, who were enslaving all nations: that Bonaparte was a conqueror devoured by ambition, and a thorough despot, whose character and conduct precluded confidence; and that all the conqueror now wanted was to make the Poles serve his present projects. The French, he said, had often talked and written a great deal about

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the wrongs of Poland, but had never done any thing to redress or relieve them. In spite of this refusal, Bonaparte ordered the exciting proclamation, giving assurances of liberty and independence to the Poles, to be inserted in the Moniteur with the high sanction of Kosciuszko's name and signature attached to the spurious document. And now—on the 1st of November—as he was preparing to pour his Grand Army into Poland, he made General Dombrowski issue that proclamation, and other addresses wherein the Polish nation was told that Kosciuszko was speedily coming to fight with them for the liberation of their country, under the shield and protection of the Emperor of the French. Few knew the secret, and very few of the Poles had the prudence and foresight of Kosciuszko, or a fragment of his capability for the inductive process which had convinced him of Bonaparte's intentions: a great part of the country was electrified by the addresses, and in a tumult of joy at the rapid advance of the victorious French columns. All Prussian Poland was in a blaze; the Russians, who had advanced into those provinces with the design of crossing the Vistula and succouring the King of Prussia, found a new enemy upon their hands, a furious insurrection gathering all round them; from nearly all parts of Poland enthusiastic volunteers, men who had fought under Kosciuszko, or who were inspired by the recollections of his exploits, rushed to join General Dombrowski, who, as early as the 16th of November, had formed at Posen four good Polish regiments. This miscalculating, blind, national enthusiasm was at its height when Bonaparte, after levying enormous contributions at Berlin, advanced and established his head-quarters at Posen. He received deputations and numerous addresses from the credulous patriots, all entreating him to restore their country to its ancient independence. In his replies the conqueror adopted that mysterious, oracular style which was familiar to him, and which had often been made to pass for supernatural intelligence, or for the voice of destiny. Beningsen, the Russian commander-in-chief, occupied a part of Prussian Poland, and took possession of the city of Warsaw; but

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on the approach of the French he found himself under the necessity of evacuating that capital. Bonaparte entered Warsaw in triumph, in the midst of the acclamations of the Poles; and there, on the 11th of December, while the columns of the Grand Army successively crossed the Vistula, he signed his separate and most advantageous peace with the Elector of Saxony. That elector, like the electors of Bavaria and Wurtemburg, was transformed into a king, and his army, instead of fighting for the independance of Germany, was joined to the army of the oppresser and marched against the Russians.

The Russians retired due north in the direction of the Niemen, as if intending to cross that river and draw their enemy into the wide country beyond it. But this wise design, which was really entertained, was abandoned, and Beningsen halted at Pultusk, on the little river Naren, at the distance of only a few days' march from Warsaw. The position was well chosen, with the river on one side, a wood on the other, and an open plain in front. After some skirmishes and affairs of outposts, a bloody battle was fought on the 26th of December. The approach of night put an end to one of the most terrible of combats in which the French had ever found themselves engaged, and in which they are said to have lost nearly 8000 men in killed and wounded. The Russian loss was estimated at 5000. In the darkness of night the French began their retreat to the Vistula; and they moved off so rapidly that on the next morning the Cossacks could not discover a rear-guard anywhere in the neighbourhood. Bonaparte went into Warsaw with his guards, leaving the rest of his army on the right bank of the river, in Praga, which is but a suburb of Warsaw, and in the villages round about. He had announced by bulletins that the war would be at an end before New-Year's Day; but now he found himself condemned to inactivity, and even to winter-quarters. He waited the arrival of reinforcements, and the organization of his Polish recruits. The Russian army was again in want of almost everything except guns, muskets,

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bayonets, ammunition, Cossack spears, courage, loyalty, and resolution: it was as poor and as unprovided as it had been in Moravia the winter before, and the treasury of the tzar was in no condition to supply the deficiencies. The resolute way in which the young tzar had torn to pieces d'Oubril's treaty and had adhered to the coalition, the firm stand which his armies had made, and were actually making, demanded whatsoever succour and assistance England, his ally, and the real head of the coalition, could afford to give; the prolongation of this war, which had already drawn Bonaparte so far from France, must cost the French enormous sacrifices, and might be expected to terminate in some terrible catastrophe, and in the destruction of the conqueror, if not in the country between the Vistula and the Niemen, in the vast plains of New Russia beyond the Niemen. The lengthened struggle would at least have impeded that consolidation of the French system in Germany, which left such enormous resources in the hands of the Emperor of the French. Yet when Alexander applied to the British government for a supply of money, all that he got was a beggarly subsidy of £80,000. To this untimely parsimony of "All the Talents" are mainly attributable the lamentable reverses of the Russians early in the following spring; to this niggardliness Europe may almost be said to owe seven years more of a destructive war.

Nearly four months before the battle of Pultusk, the brightest of "All the Talents" had been removed from office and from life. Soon after the rising of parliament Fox grew worse. His disease was dropsy, which would not yield to the repeated operation of tapping. He expired at Chiswick House, in the afternoon of the 13th of September, as the Tower guns were firing for the capture of Buenos Ayres. He was in the fifty-eighth year of his age, or eleven years older than Pitt. "How speedily," exclaims Wilberforce, "has he followed his great rival!" His death was considered as equivalent to the death of his party. "I look upon what has been called Mr. Fox's party," says Horner, "as extinguished entirely with him; his name alone kept the fragments

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together, after the party had been long ago broken to pieces." This fact, however, did not immediately appear; the cabinet which Fox had aided in forming, retained possession of office, his nephew and pupil, Lord Holland, was brought into it as lord privy seal, and Fox was succeeded in the foreign department by his friend Lord Howick, who was more identified with the Foxite policy than almost any other public man. The other ministerial changes were simply these:—Mr. T. Grenville became first lord of the admiralty, in lieu of Lord Howick; Tierney, president of the board of control, in lieu of Grenville; and Sidmouth, who had held the privy seal, now given to Lord Holland, became president of the council, in lieu of Earl Fitzwilliam, who resigned. Thus Lord Holland was the only new member brought into the cabinet.

As parliament was not sitting, there were no angry invidious debates on the merits of Fox, the sort of funeral to which he was entitled, or the wording of his epitaph. The ministry took it upon themselves to give him a public funeral in Westminster Abbey. On the 10th of October, all that remained of Fox was carried to the Abbey in great state, and deposited in a tomb immediately adjoining the monument of the Earl of Chatham, and within eighteen feet of the grave of Pitt.

The mixed cabinet had continued to complain of the coldness or want of confidence of the court. Hoping to gain greater strength in the House of Commons by a new general election, they proceeded to the sudden and unexpected measure of a dissolution of parliament, which had sat but four sessions.

The new parliament assembled on the 19th of December, and was opened not by the king in person, but by commission. The royal speech dwelt principally upon the calamitous war in Prussia, and upon the conduct of our government in respect to that power. It said that Prussia had found herself at length compelled to adopt the resolution of openly resisting the unremitting system of aggrandisement and conquest; that neither this determination nor the succeeding measures had been pre-

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viously concerted with his majesty, nor had even any disposition been shown to offer to our government any adequate satisfaction for those aggressions of Prussia, which had placed her and England in a state of mutual hostility; but that nevertheless his majesty had not hesitated to adopt immediately such measures as were best calculated to unite their councils and interests against the common enemy. Great praises were lavished on the good faith of his majesty's allies, the King of Sweden and the Emperor of Russia; and it was declared that our alliance with Russia afforded the only remaining hope of safety for the continent of Europe. This confession ought to have been followed up by the voting of a proper subsidy; a liberal supply of money might yet have reached Poland in time to turn the scale in favour of the Russians; but nothing of the sort was proposed, and when the Emperor Alexander made fresh applications, he was met with an absolute negative.

On the 22nd of December, the thanks of both Houses were voted to Major-General Sir John Stuart, to Brigadier-General Lowry Cole, to Brigadier-General W. D. Ackland, to the officers under their command, and to the non-commissioned officers and private soldiers for their bravery and good conduct. If the French made too much of their victories, we certainly made too little of ours. "All the Talents" continued to act as though they were ashamed of the glory of our arms; nor did the orators in opposition to them exert any extra spirit, or display any superior eloquence on this occasion. Except Windham, who spoke out like an Englishman, all the cabinet seem to have been as cool as if they had been discussing a beer-bill or a pig-iron duty. In praising the heroes of Maida, Windham said: "he praised them with his whole heart; he praised them also with his understanding." Maida, he said, might be put upon a level with Crecy, Poitiers, and Azincourt. It had dissolved a spell: it had been obtained in the face of Europe: it had proved to the world, in a manner not to be concealed or disguised, that French troops are inferior to British troops.

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A.D. 1807.—When parliament re-assembled after the Christmas recess, there were debates in both houses on Fox's unfortunate negotiations for peace. As by the admission of all parties war must now continue, efforts were necessary (and efforts far greater than any that were made in this session of parliament, or by this ministry), to give an increase of power and a proper direction to our military forces.

The most liberal supplies were voted. The sum of 11,305,387*l.* was devoted to the regular army, including pensions, half-pay, the Military College, the military hospitals, &c. The sum of 4,203,327*l.* was devoted to the militia, fencible corps, volunteers, &c. The ordnance had in all 3,321,216*l.* At first the number of men to be employed for the sea-service for the year 1807, including 29,000 marines, was fixed at 120,000 men; but to this number were almost immediately added 7600 sailors and 2400 more marines. The total of the money devoted to the navy for the year was 17,400,337*l.*

Wilberforce had placed his main dependence upon Fox, but the death of that minister seems to have given additional zeal to Lord Grenville for the abolition of negro slavery. On the 2nd of January his lordship brought in a bill for the total abolition of the African slave-trade. In reply to a question put by the ex-chancellor, Lord Eldon, Grenville distinctly said, that the bill extended to the *African* trade *only*. This bill was now carried through both houses by large majorities, and on the 25th of January it received the royal assent.

Ministers had already found that the ground was sliding away under their feet. The dissolution and the general election had given them no accession of strength; they could command no great majority, except on the negro slave question, and even there Wilberforce's friends and the party called the Saints had more influence than ministers, while they were hostile to ministers on almost every other point. The fault may not have been all their own, but "All the Talents" had certainly disappointed the nation at large.

That fatal three-and-a-half per cent. clapped on the

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income and property tax was very mischievous to them. In other quarters their untimely parsimony towards Russia, and the now fast-coming news of defeats and losses sustained by the forsaken or neglected Tzar, created a violent ill-feeling against them. Many, even of those who acknowledged their merits in other respects, were of opinion that they had been clamouring too long against the war to be in case to carry on that war with spirit—that they were not the men to fight the ship—and they had proved, to a demonstration, that they were no more able to make peace than their predecessors had been.

Both Fox and Grenville, though so deeply pledged to the Catholics, had accepted office without making any stipulation that Catholic emancipation, or some extensive concession tending to that point, should be made a cabinet question. It is quite certain that George III. would have consented to no such stipulation; but the party or parties who knew his unchangeable resolution on this point ought not to have taken office at all if they had been then determined to press the Catholic claims upon him so soon after getting possession of the cabinet. It does not appear that they were at this moment driven forward by any pressure from without, or by any extraordinary appeal or eager impatience on the part of the Irish Catholics. Yet, on the 5th of March, Lord Howick moved for leave to bring in a bill for securing to all his majesty's subjects the privilege of serving in the army or navy, upon their taking an oath prescribed by act of parliament. Spencer Perceval, who, as well as his friends Sidmouth and Ellenborough, had of late been closeted several times with the king, instantly rose and opposed the motion. The bill, however, was brought in and read the first time; and that day week was fixed for the second reading. But the second reading was subsequently postponed from the 12th to the 18th of March. It appears that, in order to effect a compromise with the king, ministers offered to withdraw the bill altogether, and that his majesty refused any compromise. On the 17th March, Lord Howick announced that the second reading must again be postponed. Explanations were scarcely needed,

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for the house knew that negotiations had been going on at Buckingham House for several weeks. "Ministers," says Sir Samuel Romilly, "had determined not to resign, but to be dismissed from their offices." They were dismissed on the 25th of March. Between the 26th and 31st of March the following appointments were announced:—the Duke of Portland, first lord of the treasury; Lord Hawkesbury, secretary for the home department; Canning, secretary for foreign affairs; Lord Castlereagh, secretary for war and the colonies; the Earl of Chatham (Pitt's elder brother), master of the ordnance; Spencer Perceval, chancellor of the exchequer and under-treasurer of the exchequer; Earl Camden, lord president of the council; Earl Bathurst, president of the board of trade, with George Rose for his vice; and the Earl of Westmoreland, keeper of the privy seal. On the 1st of April Lord Eldon was sworn lord high chancellor, and the Duke of Richmond was made lord lieutenant of Ireland. On the 3rd of April Lord Mulgrave was named first lord of the admiralty, and the honourable Robert Dundas president of the board of control. On the 8th of April Lord Melville was sworn of the privy council. This was the day on which parliament met after the fortnight's adjournment. The remaining offices were filled up in the course of a few days after this. Among other appointments George Rose became treasurer of the navy in lieu of Sheridan.

Between the 25th of March and the 8th of April the new ministers appear to have done all they could to excite a cry in the country against Popery. The Duke of Portland, the nominal head of the cabinet, being chancellor of the university of Oxford, wrote to it to request a petition to parliament against Catholic concessions: the Duke of Cumberland, chancellor of the university of Dublin, wrote two letters to that university for the same purpose; and in the last of these letters he plainly intimated that it was the wish of the king that this should be done. Harry Erskine, the witty brother of the ex-chancellor, said it was a pity that poor Lord George Gordon did not live in these times, when he

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would have a chance of being in the cabinet instead of being in Newgate. Spencer Perceval, who had vacated his seat by accepting office, told the electors of Northampton that it was a duty in the people as well as in the sovereign to resist the inroads of Popery; that he himself had quitted a lucrative profession and accepted his new office in order to stand by his sovereign at this important crisis. The Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, of which, as of nearly every other religious society, Wilberforce was a conspicuous and active member, lent the aid of its publications in keeping up the "No Popery" cry; and "the pulpit, drum-ecclesiastic," played very generally to the same tune. Dirty little boys chalked the wall: the days of Lord George and the London riots seemed really coming back again.

A motion made in the Commons by Mr. Littleton, to express the deepest regret at the late change of administration, was defeated by a vote for passing to the order of the day, the numbers being 244 against 198.

It was understood that a dissolution was to take place, but it was not supposed that it would be before the end of May and the regular close of the session. But an immediate dissolution was decided upon on the 24th of April, although kept a profound secret until the 26th. The object no doubt was to take advantage of the cry of No Popery. This unlucky Parliament had existed only four months and seven days. Tremendous and almost unprecedented were the efforts made both by the ins and outs at the new general election. On both sides immense electioneering purses were made up and emptied in the old way.

On the whole the new ministry gained immensely by the dissolution and general election. In the new Parliament, which met on the 22nd of June, their majorities were found to be large and sure. An amendment to the address on the opening speech, censuring the late dissolution of Parliament, was rejected in the Lords by 160 against 67, and in the Commons by 350 against

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155. The business which was transacted was of little interest, except as showing on the divisions the great strength which the new administration had obtained. The prorogation took place on the 14th of August; the king's speech, delivered by Commission, was hopeful and cheerful.

The military operations of the year had been nearly all devised by the Grenville cabinet. Although Sir Home Popham had been brought to a court-martial, and censured for his disobedience, and although the leaders of that cabinet did not entertain a favourable opinion of the bold enterprises in South America, reinforcements had been forwarded to General Beresford; and an armament had been sent to the Rio de la Plata, under the command of General Sir S. Auchmuty, convoyed by Admiral Sir C. Stirling, who superseded Sir H. Popham. On the 18th of January the troops were landed near Monte Video. A sally made by the Spaniards, who were 6000 strong, was repelled with great slaughter; the town was forthwith invested; and on the 2nd of February it was taken by storm, with a loss to the English of 560 in killed and wounded. Before intelligence had yet reached England of the re-capture of Buenos Ayres by the Spaniards, Brigadier-General Craufurd was sent on a wild expedition for the reduction of the vast American province of Chili. Craufurd had only 4200 men, and the naval force which accompanied him under Admiral Murray was proportionally small. The expedition had not been gone long ere the government learned—not that Sir S. Auchmuty had stormed and captured Monte Video, for there was not time for that intelligence to arrive,—but that Buenos Ayres had been lost, and Beresford obliged to capitulate. Instantly orders were sent after General Craufurd to tell him not to conquer Chili, but to go to the Rio de la Plata. These orders overtook Craufurd while he was at the Cape, and in pursuance of them he altered his course, and made the best of his way for the neighbourhood of Buenos Ayres. Craufurd was a brave and experienced soldier, and so was Auchmuty; but they were only

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brigadier-generals, and, as the force gradually collecting in that latitude was becoming considerable, it was considered that an officer of higher rank ought to take the general command. Unless they had taken General Mack out of the fortress into which the Emperor of Austria had thrown him, the English government could hardly have made a worse choice. General Whitelocke had attained to high rank in the army with scarcely any service beyond parade duty, and an attendance of palace-guards. He was a handsome well-spoken man, and, like Mack, had had the knack of making people who were no soldiers themselves believe that he was a great one, and a very consummate general. It was said at the time that he owed his appointment to the present command to the personal favour of George III.; but it should appear that ministerial and all manner of suffrages were united to procure him this advancement. With 1600 more land troops, General Whitelocke left England in the month of March, to take the command-in-chief of all the British forces on the Rio de la Plata, and reduce the whole province of Buenos Ayres, at the very least. He arrived near Monte Video towards the end of May. By this time nearly 12,000 excellent British troops were collected on the Rio de la Plata—brave, active, and only wanting a proper general to command them. But Whitelocke, like Mack at Ulm, appears to have lost his head as soon as he reached the South American shore. At first, he seemed to think that with such an army he could conquer the whole of Spanish America; but then, in a very few days, he pretended it was too difficult an enterprise to conquer even a single town. On the 28th of June he landed nearly 8000 men about thirty miles to the east of Buenos Ayres. He took about the worst roads which could have been selected, and he separated his little army into different divisions, subjecting them to the risk of being cut off among rivers and bogs, or being decimated in their passage through defiles and thick woods. If the Spaniards had been an active and enterprising enemy, it may be doubted whether this carpet-knight would ever have reached the

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walls of Buenos Ayres. The inundating rains which set in periodically at the end of June, or the beginning of July, swelled the rivers, and rendered them almost impassable, and Whitelocke appears to have obtained no information as to the places where the rivers were fordable, or as to any other particulars connected with the nature of that excessively difficult country. All operations were conducted in the dark. It was not until the 3rd of July that Whitelocke brought his exhausted and famishing troops up to Buenos Ayres. On the 5th he made a blind mad attack on the place, and lost 2500 men. On the 6th he began to treat with Liniers, who still commanded the Spaniards. The definitive treaty was signed at the fort of Buenos Ayres on the next day, the 7th of July, by General Whitelocke and rear-admiral Sir George Murray, and by Liniers and two Spanish generals. Hostilities were to cease on both sides of the Rio de la Plata; the British were to retain possession of the fortress and place of Monte Video, which Sir Samuel Auchmuty had stormed and taken before Whitelocke's arrival, for the space of two months; but at the end of that time these buildings were to be delivered up to the Spaniards, with all their artillery, &c.; all prisoners whatsoever were to be mutually restored; Whitelocke's famishing army was to be supplied with provisions, and to be assisted in re-embarking and crossing over to the north side of the Plata river, with its arms, stores, equipage, &c.

The popular indignation at home was so excessive that if Whitelocke had arrived in England in the month of September, with the officer who brought home his dispatches, he would have run some risk of being torn to pieces by the people. He had committed faults enough, but these were all exaggerated, and others were invented for him by ignorance, malevolence, and an uncritical and unexamining fury. We are old enough to remember the rage excited by the report that, before sending his men to be slaughtered in a hopeless street-fight, he ordered all the flints to be taken from their muskets. The name of Whitelocke was universally adopted as a

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synonyme for white-feather; many believed him to be the most perfect compound of coward and traitor that had ever been known among Englishmen. It was said to be owing to his favour at court and in other high places that his trial was so long delayed: there might be other grounds for this procrastinating of justice; but it was not until the 28th of January, 1808, that he was brought before a general court-martial, held at Chelsea Hospital; and even then such numerous adjournments were allowed to take place that the trial was not concluded until the 18th of March. The mass of the nation certainly thought the sentence too mild which condemned him to be cashiered in the most disgraceful manner; but not a few thought that the ministers under whom he had been employed, and under whose general and insane orders he had acted, ought to have been called to a severe account.

In a very opposite direction another armament despatched by the Grenville administration, led to no very honourable result. Towards the end of November 1806, when our diplomatists at the Ottoman Porte had been circumvented by the French, and had failed in their endeavours to prevent Sultan Selim from engaging in a war with the Tzar (an event which acted as a capital diversion in favour of Bonaparte, by obliging the Russians to keep a large army on the Lower Danube), Admiral Louis appeared off Tenedos and the coast of Troy with three line-of-battle ships and four frigates. It was an ancient rule, recognised in treaties with the Porte, that no ships of war, with their guns on board, were to be allowed to pass either the straits of the Dardanelles or the straits of the Bosporus. Nevertheless Admiral Louis sent through the Dardanelles a ship of the line and a frigate. The Turks, who certainly wished to avoid hostilities with the English, let the two ships pass their tremendous batteries in the straits without firing at them, and allowed them to come to anchor without molestation off Constantinople. While this single ship of the line (the 'Canopus' of 80 guns) and this single frigate lay thus, with their broadsides towards the Seraglio, or palace

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of the Sultan (a most vain and impotent menace), some attempts at negotiation were renewed on shore; but the active, able, and intriguing Sebastiani was an overmatch for our ambassador Mr. Arbuthnot, who had several of the qualities of an old woman, and who was at this time suffering under the depressing influences of a slow fever; the victories which Bonaparte was then obtaining gave a great weight to Sebastiani's diplomacy; and all that Admiral Louis could do was safely to carry off the English and Russian ambassadors. It was then resolved to try what might be done by the presence of a greater force; and, at last, on the 10th of February of the present year, Sir John Duckworth, a favourite Admiral of the "All Talents" administration, arrived off Tenedos with some more ships of the line and two bomb-vessels. This force, being united to that of Admiral Louis, made up a squadron of eight line-of-battle ships, two frigates, and two bombs. On the 19th of February, favoured by the wind, Duckworth entered the terrible strait, and passed all the batteries and castles with scarcely any loss or injury. A Turkish squadron, consisting of a 64-gun ship, four frigates, four corvettes, two brigs, and two gun-boats, was destroyed by Sir Sidney Smith. Instead of hastening to Constantinople, which he might have done, as the wind continued favourable, Duckworth lingered in the sea of Marmora several days, and then, instead of anchoring before the panic-stricken capital, he brought up at the Princes' Islands, at the distance of ten miles, where he lost several more days. In the meanwhile the Turks recovered from their panic, and under the able direction of Sebastiani and other French officers put their city in a very formidable state of defence. Some bombastic and ridiculous letters were dispatched to the Porte; but the Turkish ministers could not now be bullied. On the 1st of March, after making an idle flourish before the walls of Constantinople, Sir John bore up for the Dardanelles. He repassed those straits with very little loss of men on the 3rd of March; but some of his ships were a good deal damaged by the enormous stone-shot which

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were fired by the Turks, and which, in some instances, weighed 800 pounds. And thus ended the famed expedition to the Hellespont and the Bosporus. It had broken the spell by which the passage of the Dardanelles had been guarded for so many ages; but the result of the whole was little more than a brilliant bravado, followed by a series of wretched and dishonouring blunders.

From Tenedos, where he left a Russian squadron under Siniavin to blockade the Dardanelles, Sir John hastened down to the mouths of the Nile, to co-operate in a still more imbecile expedition which had been planned by "All the Talents." Ever since the evacuation of Egypt by the British troops, that country had been the scene of anarchy and civil war. There had been a rumour that the Sultan had entertained the notion of a treaty, by which Egypt was to be given up to the French as the price of Bonaparte's assistance against the Russians on the Danube, in the Crimea, and in the other vast regions round the Black Sea, which the Tzars had successively torn from Turkey; but the French could neither keep nor so much as take possession of Egypt so long as England maintained her superiority at sea. The landing of a British army in Egypt might indeed serve as a present diversion highly favourable to our ally the Emperor Alexander, who, while outnumbered and hard pressed by Bonaparte between the Vistula and the Niemen, was obliged to keep an army of 30,000 or 40,000 men on the Danube; but to effect this desirable object our ministers ought to have sent 15 000 or 20,000 men, instead of a diminutive force which was not capable of contending with Mehemet Ali, and which was crushed and disgraced without so much as the marching of an oda of janissaries from Constantinople, or from any part of European Turkey, or from Asia Minor, or from Syria.

From 4000 to 5000 men taken from our army in Sicily, and placed under the command of Major-General Mackenzie Fraser, were landed near Alexandria by the 20th of March. The ancient capital capitulated immediately. But though they had taken Alexandria, our poor soldiers found that they had taken it only to

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starve in it: provisions were scarce, the neighbouring sands supplied nothing, and the open country beyond remained in possession of Mehemet Ali's fierce Albanians, who cut off all supplies. A column was detached to Rosetta, but it insanely engaged in the narrow crooked streets of that town; and instead of provisions General Fraser received a list of 400 killed and wounded—a sad reduction to a force so small as his. By the end of July, Fraser was in a hopeless condition: on the 22nd of August, on the near approach of some of Mehemet's columns, he sent out a flag of truce, announcing that, if the Pasha would deliver up all the British prisoners taken at Rosetta, El Hammet, and elsewhere, the army under his command should immediately evacuate Egypt. This was readily agreed to; and on the 24th of September what remained of the English army set sail for Sicily.

Irritated by all these hostile proceedings, the Sultan had declared war against England, had seized all British property or merchandise in his dominions, had concluded a close alliance with the French, and had sent an ambassador into Poland to follow in the train of the triumphant Bonaparte, who duped him with fine promises so long as it suited his purpose, and then left Turkey to defend herself as she best might against the Russians.

But before our troops quitted Egypt Sultan Selim had ceased to reign, and his chief ministers and advisers had been savagely massacred by the revolted janissaries. Sebastiani regretted this sudden revolution, for Selim had showed every disposition of steadiness and attachment to the alliance with Bonaparte; but as soon as he was deposed, Sebastiani cultivated a close friendship with Cabakchy-Oglou, the violent and brutal man who had overthrown him, and through Cabakchy's means the French influence at the Porte remained undiminished.

One little expedition which took place under the Grenville administration, and which demonstrated that they too had a hankering after petty conquests and unhealthy colonies, was attended with complete success. On the first day of the year the Dutch island of Curaçoa was reduced.

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The first expedition sent out by the new ministry was accompanied by some painful circumstances, but with a triumphant success, at least, to our arms. The terrible chastisement which the Danes had received at the hands of Lord Nelson had not promoted any friendly feeling towards England. They had professed to remain neutral; but, even more than before that chastisement, they had favoured the French. A woful experience had taught England and her allies how little Bonaparte respected the neutrality of any country that was weak when it suited his purpose to violate it. The predominant idea of that conqueror now was to enforce what he termed his "continental system;" to carry into effect, in every maritime state of Europe, his Berlin decree, in conformity with which all ports were to be closed against the British flag and trade. Russia and Prussia, by events which will be explained hereafter, when we have finished the narrative of our own military and naval operations, had been compelled to accede; the Hanse Towns, with all the rivers of the north of Germany, Holland, and its outlets, were occupied by French troops; Sweden could not long offer any valid opposition: but the system would be incomplete in the north of Europe unless Denmark, who holds the keys of the Baltic in her hand, and whose trade and enterprise and mercantile marine were very considerable, should be, by negotiation and treaty, or by military force, brought into it. It was known to our cabinet that there had been negotiations of a secret nature, and it was equally well known that Bonaparte would not hesitate to employ force if negotiation failed. The north of Germany was swarming with his troops, and with the troops his brother Louis had brought into Hanover from Holland; an entire *corps d'armée* was lying not many days' march from that frontier of Denmark where the heroic and unfriended Blücher had been compelled to lay down his arms. There was no army in Denmark at all capable of resisting these French forces: the country was indubitably Bonaparte's so soon as he might choose to take possession of it, and with the country he would gain a fine fleet and well-stored arsenals and dockyards.

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If England could have relied on the friendship of Denmark, there was no relying on her weakness; if the court, the cabinet, and the country had been devoted to us, instead of being alienated from us—if, instead of an evident leaning towards France, which had lasted for many years, there had been a high and resolute spirit of patriotism, with the determination to resist foreign interference and dictation, we could not have relied upon the ability of the Danes to oppose the mighty will which had overthrown a great military power like Prussia almost at a single blow, which had, for the time, subjugated Russia as well as Austria, and which had involved in a vortex all the old principalities and powers of Europe. A capital part of the case reduced itself simply to this—if we did not make sure of the Danish fleet, Bonaparte was sure to get it. The great law of nature, the instinct and duty of self-preservation, recommended the step we took. Our government rushed to its object without a declaration of war against Denmark, because such a declaration would have defeated our object, and have at once thrown the Danes, their fleet, and their country into the hands of the French. It was utterly impossible for the Prince Royal to keep his ships and arsenals out of the clutches of our mortal foe, who avowedly intended to avail himself of the subjugation of the continent in making the most strenuous efforts for creating a new French navy, and for bringing into action along with it all the fleets of Europe. Bonaparte had too thoroughly rent the book of the Law of Nations for any British minister in his senses to count upon one of its torn pages. The enemies of the conqueror had already suffered too severely from binding themselves by laws which were less than gossamer to him. The uncontrollable rage which he felt and expressed on learning the daring blow which had been struck at Copenhagen clearly evinced his intentions as to Denmark and her fleet, and the bitterness of his disappointment at finding the prize seized before he could clutch it. Early in the summer a powerful expedition was fitted out in our ports, with a secrecy and promptitude highly honourable to the new ministry. A fleet of

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twenty-five sail of the line, with upwards of forty frigates, sloops, bomb-vessels, and gun-brigs, and 377 transports, was prepared and got ready for sea; and about 27,000 land troops, of which more than one-half were Germans in British pay, were embarked. The command of the fleet was intrusted to Admiral Gambier, and the command-in-chief of the army to Lord Cathcart, who had the good fortune to have under his command Major-General Sir Arthur Wellesley. On the 26th of July, Gambier set sail from Yarmouth roads. By the evening of the 9th of August, all the transports were safely collected round the admiral, in Elsinore Roads, and Lord Cathcart had arrived with the troops from Stralsund. The crown prince was with the main body of the Danish army at Kiel, in Holstein. That army was from 20,000 to 30,000 strong, but, from the station which he occupied in the passage of the Great Belt, Commodore Keats kept it completely in check, or at least prevented its crossing over to the island of Zealand for the protection of the capital. Mr. Jackson, who had resided for some years as British envoy in the north of Germany, was sent over to Kiel to attempt an amicable arrangement with the crown prince, on the basis of his delivering up the Danish fleet to the British admiral, on the solemn assurance that it should be restored at a general peace, or at the conclusion of the war between France and England. The answer was an angry and indignant refusal. Contrary winds kept the British fleet stationary in Elsinore Roads until the morning of the 15th, when, at a very early hour, the men-of-war and transports weighed, and worked up to the Bay of Wedbeck. Here Admiral Gambier and the bulk of the fleet anchored, while a small squadron proceeded higher up the Sound to make a diversion. On the morning of the 16th a part of the land troops were disembarked at Wedbeck, without opposition. The fleet then weighed, and made all sail for Copenhagen. On the evening of the 17th, Admiral Gambier, with sixteen sail of the line, came to anchor in Copenhagen Road, about four miles to the north-east of the Trekroner, or crown battery, which had fired with such terrible effect

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into Nelson's ship. By the 21st the island of Zealand was completely surrounded by the British ships, which prevented all ingress or egress; on the 22nd General Mac Farlane's division, having been landed the preceding evening, joined the army and encamped in rear of head-quarters; and in the course of the 23rd Lord Rosslyn, who had landed with another division of troops in Keoge Bay, joined the main army and covered its centre. On the 29th Sir Arthur Wellesley marched to Keoge, where some of the Danish troops and militia had taken up a strong intrenched position with the view of molesting the besiegers in their rear. These Danes were completely defeated and dispersed, Sir Arthur taking upwards of sixty officers and 1100 men, ten or fourteen pieces of cannon, and a quantity of powder and other stores. The Danes in Copenhagen attempted several sorties, but they were each time driven back with loss. On the 1st of September it was found necessary to detach Commodore Keats to blockade Stralsund, for that place was already in possession of the French, who might have made some desperate attempt to send across reinforcements to the island of Zealand. So great had been the necessity of rapid and decisive movement—so short the time which would have been necessary for the location of an imposing French force in Copenhagen. On the evening of the same day, the 1st of September, the army having nearly finished its gun and mortar batteries, the two British commanders-in-chief summoned the Danish major-general to surrender the fleet. The Dane requested time to consult the crown prince his master. Admiral Gambier and Lord Cathcart refused to allow him any such delay; and on the 2nd all the British land-batteries opened upon the town, and our bomb-vessels began to throw some shells into it. It was a terrible night; the city and the space immediately round it looked like a volcano in a state of eruption. The British continued their bombardment without any intermission till eight o'clock on the morning of the 3rd; they suspended their fire till the evening, and then,

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though they again continued it throughout the night, they fired with less vigour, wishing to avoid inflicting a greater mischief on the poor inhabitants than was necessary; but, on the morning of the 4th, seeing no symptoms of surrender, they renewed the bombardment with more fury than ever. Without counting the bomb-vessels afloat, about fifty mortars and howitzers, and twenty 24-pounders, well placed in land batteries, rained shot and shell into the devoted town, which began to burn and blaze in all quarters. On the evening of the 5th the Danish governor consented to the surrender of the fleet; and Major-General Sir Arthur Wellesley, Lieutenant-Colonel George Murray, deputy-quarter-master-general, and Sir Home Popham, were appointed to settle the few and simple remaining conditions of the capitulation. By the morning of the 7th of September the articles were signed and ratified. On the 8th the British troops entered the town and citadel, and the sailors instantly began to get the Danish fleet ready for sea. So great was the rapidity with which they worked, and so well were the Danish stores arranged in the warehouses, that in nine days fourteen sail of the line were towed out from the inner harbour to the road, and got ready for sea. Within the space of six weeks three more ships-of-the-line, with the frigates and sloops, were got ready, and the arsenal and its storehouses were completely cleared. There were three 74's on the stocks; two of them were taken to pieces, and the best of their timbers were embarked; the third ship was destroyed, as were a rotten old 64 and two or three old frigates. This left in the possession of the captors seventeen ships-of-the line, one 60, two 40, six 46, and two 32-gun frigates, fourteen corvettes, sloops, brigs, and schooners, and twenty-five gun-boats. The most valuable part of the seizure consisted of the masts, spars, timber, sails, cordage, and other naval stores. The quantity was so immense that, exclusive of the stores which were shipped on board of the British and Danish men-of-war, ninety transports, measuring more than 20,000 tons,

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brought away full cargoes. The ordnance brought away is stated at 2041 long guns, 202 carronades, and 222 mortars.

Mr. Jackson, before taking his final leave, made some more diplomatic overtures. A declaration of war followed on the part of the crown prince, who had a formidable French army at his elbow, and an alliance with the Emperor of Russia in perspective. On the 4th of November the British government ordered reprisals to be granted against the ships, goods, and subjects of Denmark. But it had not waited so long to invade and possess itself of Danish territory. On the 4th of September, three days before the governor of Copenhagen finished his capitulation, Vice-Admiral T. Macnamara Russell and Captain Lord Falkland captured the small Danish island of Heligoland in the German Ocean. The place was a perpendicular unproductive rock, with a barren sandy flat at the foot of it: its entire circumference did not exceed three English miles, and it was subject to such rapid waste by the beating and washing of that stormy sea that there appeared a chance of its being some day washed away altogether. But there were circumstances which rendered the bare inhospitable spot of exceeding great value to England at that moment: it was situated off the mouth of the Elbe, and at the distance of only twenty-five miles from the mouths of the Weser and the Eyder; it could scarcely be better placed as a depôt for British manufactures, colonial produce, and other goods, which could be smuggled up the mouths of the neighbouring rivers and conveyed into the interior of the Continent; and, at the same time, it afforded a safe asylum in those dangerous waters to the English men-of-war and cruisers, which were now shut out from every port in the North Seas, except those of Sweden. Heligoland, too, served as an admonitor: it constantly reminded the mariners and coast-dwelling people of those northern regions, that there was an element which did not own the sway of Bonaparte; and the French could hardly look seaward from their conquests in

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Oldenburg and Hanover without seeing the proud flag of England floating over that near rock.

In the month of December, the Danish West India islands of St. Thomas, St. John's, and Santa Croce surrendered, without resistance, to a squadron commanded by Sir Alexander Cochrane, and a small military force under General Bowyer.

We must proceed briefly to recapitulate the operations of the Grand Army, and the other proceedings of Bonaparte, which were mixed up with nearly all our transactions, and had led directly to several of our measures besides our attack upon Copenhagen.

We left the Emperor of the French comfortably quartered in the city of Warsaw. The Russians, after gaining the terrible battle of Pultusk, retired to Ostrolenka, where they found better winter-quarters, and where they were joined by the *corps-d'armée* of Prince Galitzin, who, on a distant point, had defeated a French division on the same day on which the battle of Pultusk was fought. The critical situation of the King of Prussia, cooped up in Königsburg with only a few thousand men, did not allow Beningsen to take a long repose. He resumed offensive operations with great spirit, spreading his Cossacks over the whole country near the Vistula, and making many prisoners. This forced the French from their winter-quarters into the field—a field covered with snow and ice, and swept by pitiless winds. On the 25th of January, a terrible conflict took place near Mohrungen, and, though they claimed a victory, the French suffered a decided reverse. A diversion was effected in favour of Königsburg; and the brave and faithful Lestocq was enabled to relieve and throw reinforcements into Gaudentz, an important town on the Vistula, below Warsaw, which still remained in possession of Prussian troops. Towards the end of the month of January the Russians, who were in want of everything, became clamorous for battle, and their able general, against his better judgment, led them into it, or rather allowed them to meet it, on the 8th of Feb-

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ruary, at Eylau, in the circle of Königsburg. Bonaparte had actually on the field 85,000 men, including 16,000 cavalry; Beningsen, who had been obliged to detach some of his troops, had only 75,000 men, counting the Prussian division of Lestocq, of which a part was not in line when the battle began; in artillery the Russians were superior, having 460 guns to oppose to about 380; but in cavalry they were very inferior, and the nature of the country was favourable to charges of horse. The bloody battle which began at day-break, in the midst of a snow-storm, lasted till ten o'clock at night. The Russian infantry had stood like stone ramparts, or like walls of brass; the Prussian columns of Lestocq, properly commanded by an honest, loyal man, a patriot and a hero, behaved as well as ever Prussian troops had done under Frederick the Great: the French had utterly failed in all their attacks, and in some of their retreats they had betrayed nearly every symptom of demoralization; the corps of Augereau had been put to a panic flight and cut to pieces; the corps of Davoust, one of the largest and finest of the army, had been pushed off the field by an inferior number of Prussian bayonets; and from 10,000 to 12,000 French soldiers had quitted their colours in the evening under pretence of looking after the wounded. The loss on both sides had been tremendous: in the absence of regular authentic returns it has been roughly stated at 50,000 killed and wounded; but it should appear that of this number above 30,000 were French. The Grand Army had lost twelve of its eagles, and was certainly in no humour to attempt the recovery of them.

The best testimony as to the real effect of the battle of Eylau was borne by Bonaparte himself; four days after the conflict he despatched a courteous message to the King of Prussia, proposing a suspension of hostilities, and hinting that, if his majesty would make a separate peace with him, he might be induced to forego all the advantages he had gained by the double battle of Auerstadt and Jena, and to restore nearly the whole of his

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dominions; and on the 19th of February he evacuated Eylau, and retreated to his old line on the Vistula, being followed by clouds of Cossacks, who took many prisoners, and made a great booty.

END OF VOL. XXIII.

London: WILLIAM CLOWES and SONS, Stamford-street.

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THE
CABINET
History of England
VOL. XXIV.

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CABINET
HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK XI.—*Continued.*

CHAPTER I.—*Continued.*

GEORGE III.—*Continued.*

THE Emperor Alexander applied to the British government to negotiate for him a loan of six millions sterling, and make him an immediate advance on account: it is said that the security he offered was not bad. If he had offered no security at all, the money ought to have been raised and sent to him; but the "Talents" ministry thought fit to decline the transaction, and hereby they gave a mortal offence to the Tzar, and almost paralyzed his exertions in the common cause. From this moment Alexander seems to have doubted the sincerity and generosity of Great Britain. In the course of the months of February and March, he made repeated and urgent application for an English army to co-operate with the Swedish forces in Pomerania. Lord Howick, then in office, wrote a chilling letter to the Emperor, and told him that he must not look for any *considerable land force* from Great Britain. This was poor encouragement for the Russians, who had so recently strewed the field of Eylau with 20,000 of their killed and wounded. A fortnight after the date of Howick's note, the ministry of which he formed a part was no more. The rival party, who succeeded to the management of affairs, remitted 500,000*l.* to the court of Petersburg; but this was not money enough, and the Tory cabiuet sent out

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no troops until it was too late, and the force they sent was contemptibly small. In the month of July, after the great battle of Friedland had been fought, our German Legion, about 8000 strong, was landed in the Isle of Rugen, near Stralsund. Our ministers, too, were so slow in sending 160,000 muskets to Königsberg that an immense body of Prussian militia were unable to march for want of arms—that these muskets did not arrive until the middle of June, when they came just in time to fall into the hands of the French, who took Königsberg a few days after the carnage at Friedland.

The Emperor Alexander sent such inconsiderable reinforcements to Beningsen, that that army was never even raised to its original computation of 90,000 men. But by the month of June, Bonaparte, who had been allowed time, and who had called up troops from Germany and the Rhine, had 200,000 men on the Vistula, and between that river and the Niemen. The Prussian general, Kalkreuth, surrendered in Dantzic on the 27th of May. The great battle of Friedland was fought on the 14th of June near the river Aller, only a few miles from the field of Eylau. It was not a battle of bayonets, but one of artillery. After a brave contest the Russians were worsted by Bonaparte's well-served and tremendous batteries; and as night approached they began to retire behind the Aller, crossing that river by a ford, and carrying with them all their artillery and baggage. It appears they did not lose so much as a single gun or a single tumbril. The French had suffered too severely to attempt to follow: many of the regiments of the Grand Army were reduced to less than one-half—whole companies had disappeared to a man. The Russian general slowly retired to Tilsit, on the Niemen, destroying all the bridges and falling back upon his reserves. He was joined by 15,000 or 20,000 infantry, who were closely followed by a multitude of irregular cavalry. But Bonaparte and Alexander both eagerly and equally wished for peace; a suspension of hostilities was agreed to, at the request of Bonaparte; and, on the 25th of June, the two emperors met on a raft in the middle of

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the Niemen, at a short distance from Tilsit. The young Tzar appears to have been dazzled by the brilliant and insinuating Corsican. The two took up their residence in the town of Tilsit, where the treaties of peace were finally concluded, that with Russia being signed on the 7th, and that with Prussia on the 9th of July. Frederick William was restored to about one-half of his former territories, as far as the Elbe; but all the principal Prussian fortresses and all the sea-port towns were to remain in the hands of the French till the general peace, or until England should be reduced to submission. The portion of Poland acquired by Prussia in the partition of 1772 was disunited from that kingdom, and erected into a separate territory, to be called the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, but to be held not by a Polish prince, or a republic of Poles, but by the king of Saxony, that faithful ally of Bonaparte. Russia made no sacrifices; on the contrary, she obtained a part of Prussian Poland. But there were secret articles to the treaty, by which France allowed Russia to take Finland from Sweden, and Russia on her part promised to close her ports against British vessels. Throughout both treaties the means of giving effect to the Berlin decree, and of totally excluding the commerce of England from the continent, were kept steadily and constantly in view.

Loud were the lamentations raised by the Polish patriots and dupes, who had kept on dreaming about the reconstruction of their once great nation under a native prince and a free and happy constitution. Nevertheless the Polish officers who were gathering fame (such as it was) by following the French eagles, and who were getting crosses and ribands to tie to their button-holes, and plenty of money to spend, professed great gratitude for the creation of the Warsaw duchy, and believed, or affected to believe, that at some not very distant day Bonaparte would keep all his promises, reconstructing Poland, and making it again the great power of the north.

The Turks had at least as much reason as the Poles to complain of the treaty of Tilsit: they had been

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tempted and dragged into the war by the most solemn promises that Moldavia and Wallachia, with all their territories on the left bank of the Danube, should be secured to them, and by the fond hope of re-obtaining, through the assistance of French arms and French negotiations, the whole of Bessarabia and of the Crimea, of all that the Russians had taken from them since the beginning of the reign of Peter the Great; but now all that they really got was a temporary suspension of hostilities, with the withdrawal of the Russian troops from the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia.

When it was far too late, Mr. Canning despatched Lord Leveson Gower to reconcile the irritated Tzar, and bring him back to that close alliance with England which had been broken by English folly, faction, slowness, and want of timely liberality. Alexander would not even grant an audience to the noble envoy; and his lordship returned to England with the painful convictions that Russia had taken her part, that she had entered very deeply into the projects of France, and that she had agreed to place at the temporary disposal of Bonaparte her own fleet of nineteen or twenty sail of the line, and to allow him to obtain, by fair means or by foul, the fleet of Denmark and the eleven or twelve sail of the line which belonged to Sweden. When the news of our attack on Copenhagen and our seizure of the Danish fleet reached him, Alexander joined chorus in the outcry that was raised by France.

Almost entirely abandoned by England, who had brought down the 8000 men landed in the isle of Rugen to assist in the Copenhagen enterprise, and threatened with immediate hostility by her late ally and nearest neighbour, Russia, the poor kingdom of Sweden was left in a most perilous situation. Even after the peace of Tilsit the enthusiastic Swedish monarch kept his ground at Stralsund, and issued spirited addresses to the great Germanic family, calling upon them, in God's name, to shake off their ignominious bondage. Marshal Brune was sent against him with a mixed army of Frenchmen, Dutchmen, Bavarians, and other un-German Germans

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A terrible battle was fought in Pomerania, about eight miles from Stralsund: the French, or rather their allies, were beaten to pieces; the days of Gustavus Adolphus and of Charles XII. seemed to be returned: but, alas! Brune was reinforced from different nations or countries until his army amounted to 70,000 men, while the King of Sweden, who could no longer draw a man or a musket from his own dominions, and who had now little reason to hope for any proper succour from England, saw his small army dwindle down to eight or ten thousand men. On the 19th of August, he evacuated Stralsund, destroying his magazines, spiking his cannon, and smashing their carriages and throwing them into the ditches. Early on the 20th he and his troops were safely landed on the island of Rugen, where various fortifications and field-works were erected. His majesty soon crossed the Baltic to Stockholm. Almost as soon as he was gone the troops he left in Rugen discovered that the island was not tenable; and early in the month of September they capitulated to the French general, who obtained easy possession of all the other Baltic islands on the German coast. The crown of Gustavus was by this time in jeopardy: he had been steady and faithful to the coalition into which England had drawn him, and his reward was to be dethronement and the expulsion of his dynasty.

In the meanwhile Bonaparte, after more than a ten months' absence, had returned to Paris. Having stripped the Elector of Hesse-Cassel of his dominions, because he had not joined him in the war against Prussia, and having despoiled the Duke of Brunswick of his dominions, because his father had joined Prussia against the French, the conqueror created out of these and other countries and districts, including the greater part of Hanover, the so-called kingdom of Westphalia, whose existence had already been recognised in the treaties of Tilsit, both by Russia and by Prussia; and on the 18th of August he gave investiture to his brother Jerome, who took up his residence at Cassel, and began to establish

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such a government and court as the world had never before seen.

Shortly after this the Moniteur announced that "the House of Braganza had ceased to reign in Europe." Our old ally the Prince Regent of Portugal having refused to enforce the Berlin decree against England, Junot was sent with 30,000 men to take possession of Portugal. By an infamous and imbecile treaty signed at Fontainebleau on the 9th of October, Spain not only allowed a free passage through her territories, but also engaged to assist Junot with an auxiliary force, supply him with provisions, &c. The French general entered Lisbon without opposition on the 30th of November, and began immediately to disarm the inhabitants, to levy contributions under the bayonet, and to treat the country as a conquest of France. The prince regent and his court had fled in English ships for Brazil; and 18,000 Portuguese had abandoned their homes and their country rather than submit to the French yoke. And, while Spanish troops were co-operating in this work of spoliation and iniquity in Portugal, the Spanish court and royal family broke furiously out into unnatural quarrels which threatened a civil and family war, and which, by exposing the weakness and profligacy of the government, offered to Bonaparte temptations difficult to be withstood even by a less grasping and more conscientious ruler.

On the 16th of November, Bonaparte quitted Paris to visit Milan and Venice. He had many objects in this journey to his Italian kingdom; but he particularly aimed at the completion of his so-called continental system, determining to close every port in Italy to the English flag, and hoping to induce Austria by fear and by negotiation to enter into the league against the commerce of Great Britain. On the 17th of December, being at Milan, he issued his celebrated Milan decree, declaring all merchant vessels, of whatsoever nation, which should submit to the British orders in council to be lawful prizes to the French. Forthwith a number of merchant vessels belonging to the United States of America were seized

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and confiscated in the ports of Italy, in the ports of France, and in the other harbours of Europe which the French occupied, upon the ground that they had submitted to the British orders in council, and by so doing had infringed the law of nations, and injured the interests of the whole civilized world. This step might seem to have been calculated to draw immediately down upon him a declaration of war from the American republic; but he was tolerably well acquainted with the strong French sympathies and the strong English antipathies of that people, and he hoped from the first to make his Milan decree, and his seizures and confiscations of American property, the means of driving the United States into a war against England.

Having summoned the queen-regent of Etruria and her infant son into his presence, he signified to her that she must instantly resign Tuscany, or the kingdom of Etruria, for that new kingdom of Northern Lusitania which had been carved out of Portugal by the treaty of Fontainebleau. Although this Spanish princess appears to have foreseen that her son would never get those dominions in Portugal, she could offer no resistance, and could venture on no remonstrance against the absolute will of this maker and unmaker of kings. Forthwith Tuscany, with all its ports, was occupied by French troops; and, in the month of June following, the country was formally annexed, not to the kingdom of Italy, which Bonaparte pretended to be building up with a view to the unity of that fair peninsula, but to the French empire, of which it was made to form three new departments. There now remained in all Italy only the seaports of the Roman states, on the Adriatic and Tyrrhenian seas, open to the British flag; and these he determined to close immediately. French troops were sent to occupy Civita Vecchia, and guard the mouth of the Tiber; and on the Adriatic side a strong garrison was thrown into Ancona. The poor Pope, who had been so compliant and submissive, appealed in vain to the rights of neutrality, to the rights of nations, to the more sacred laws which had supported in former times the heritage of St. Peter. Not

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satisfied with seizing the cities, fortresses, and harbours, Bonaparte insisted on the Pope declaring war against England! Pius VII. replied that he was a sovereign of peace, and that he could not declare war against any Christian power. Ever since the treaty of Tilsit, the conqueror had claimed to be Emperor of the West. He said that, as the successor of Charlemagne, he was Emperor of the West, King of Italy, and Suzerain of the Pope; that the English were heretics, and therefore enemies of the Holy See, and that the donation of Charlemagne to Rome had been made for the defence of the Holy Church against its enemies; that if the Pope did not comply with his wishes, he, Napoleon, would resume Charlemagne's grant. In February, 1808, General Miollis entered Rome, occupied the castle of St. Angelo, and shut up the Pope as a prisoner in the Vatican. More French troops were brought from Tuscany and from Lombardy into the Papal states; and on the 2nd of April, 1808, Bonaparte, by one of his sweeping decrees, annexed the Marches, or Adriatic provinces of the Pope, to his kingdom of Italy. The magistrates and ecclesiastics of those provinces, being called upon to take the oath of fidelity to their lawful sovereign, Napoleon, King of Italy, refused almost to a man; and this led to midnight arrests, to sudden transportations to state-prisons and fortresses in the Apennines and Alps, and, in the rude regions of Dalmatia, to popular discontents and insurrections, to military tribunals and bloodshed.

A.D. 1808.—The British parliament was opened on January 31st by commission. The speech delivered for the king dwelt at great length upon foreign affairs, and mentioned nearly every country in Europe as in a state of hostility to England. Some light was thrown upon the system conceived by Bonaparte for uniting all the navies of Europe against us. It was shown how he had counted upon obtaining the fleet of Portugal, as well as the fleet of Denmark. Parliament was informed that the order in council, with which we had retaliated for Bonaparte's Berlin decree, must be followed up by other

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measures of greater rigour, which would require parliamentary aid to give them full effect. The increased produce of the taxes and duties, in spite of the war and the Berlin and Milan decrees, was dwelt upon as a proper subject of congratulation. In both Houses the addresses were carried without a division.

On the 5th February the chancellor of the exchequer (Spencer Perceval) moved that the orders in council should be referred to the committee of ways and means. The opposition immediately declared that we ought not to attempt retaliating by any such measures; that the orders in council, unjust in themselves, would do us much more mischief than the Berlin and Milan decrees; that they went to violate both the law of nations and the municipal law of England. On the other side it was maintained by ministers that we had a perfect right of retaliating upon the enemy his own measures; that, if he declared we should have no trade with any nation, we had a right to declare that he should have none. They also insisted that, if neutrals acquiesced in restrictions imposed by one belligerent, the other belligerent was warranted in considering such neutrals as a party to those restrictions.

In opening the budget for the year Mr. Perceval stated the amount of the supplies at about 43,000,000*l.* for England, and 5,700,000*l.* for Ireland, and the produce of the war-taxes at 20,000,000*l.* Among the ways and means were a loan of 8,000,000*l.*, and additional taxes to the amount of more than 300,000*l.* The events rapidly passing in Spain, the occupation of Portugal, the threatened invasion of Sicily, which was only preserved from the grasp of the French by the presence of British forces, the obligation of succouring the King of Sweden, who had been brought to the brink of ruin by our alliance, all called for an increase to the number of soldiers and sailors. The number of seamen voted for the service of the year was 130,000. In the army the regular infantry establishment, which in 1807 had been 109,000, was raised to 132,000. The whole establishment of the

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army was stated by the secretary-at-war, Lord Castlereagh, at not less than 300,000 men.

Parliament was prorogued by commission on the 4th of July. The greater part of the speech delivered by the lord chancellor turned upon the Spanish nation, which had already risen against the tyranny and usurpation of France, and which was therefore no longer to be considered as the enemy, but as the ally of Great Britain.

The blindness, the imbecility, the mad intestine rage of the Spanish court, and of the factions that directed or distracted its councils, continued down to the last moment, and were the means of allowing Bonaparte to secure not only the command of the principal roads of the country, but the possession of some of its best and strongest fortresses, before he threw off the mask, and told the Bourbon dynasty, as he had told the house of Braganza, that it had ceased to reign. After the passage of Junot into Portugal, other French divisions had entered Spain, as friends, and had seized by stratagem St. Sebastian, Pamplona, and Barcelona. These movements, which were not justified by the treaty of Fontainebleau, astonished and terrified Godoy; but that favourite of royalty, who had equal influence over the queen, whose paramour he was, and over the king, whom he dishonoured, had been for some time engaged in mortal strife with Prince Ferdinand, the heir to the crown, and dreaded much more the vengeance of the prince than the occupation of the country by the French; and seeing no hope of resistance to the might and will of Bonaparte except through an appeal to the nation at large, with whom Ferdinand was popular and himself odious to the last degree, and hoping that a ready compliance and submission would secure him the all-potent protection of the conqueror, Godoy removed the few Spanish troops that were near the frontiers, and ordered the commanders of fortresses to open their gates and receive the French as friends and allies.

An insurrectionary movement took place at Aranjuez

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on the 20th of March, when Godoy was thrown into prison, Ferdinand was proclaimed king, and Charles was easily induced to abdicate. Upon this revolution the Corsican child of revolution founded a pretence for interfering. He invited father, mother, son, and favourite to meet him at Bayonne. Charles and his queen went readily, but Ferdinand hesitated. Hereupon Bonaparte looked about him for an adroit kidnapper, that should, by force or by fraud, bring the prince into France. The choice naturally fell upon that notorious head of gendarmerie and secret police, Savary, who had presided over the murder of the Duke d'Enghien; and by his solemn asseverations of his master's honourable and friendly intentions, Savary gradually decoyed the weak prince from stage to stage until he was beyond the Spanish frontier. A scene of duplicity and dishonesty, of indecent and most unnatural recrimination ensued between that disinterested arbiter Bonaparte, the old king, the queen, and her son, which has scarcely a parallel in history. Charles resumed his character of king, stigmatising Ferdinand as a rebellious son; the queen joined in reviling him at the expense of her own and her husband's honour; and Ferdinand, overwhelmed by insults and threats, renounced his claim to the crown of Spain on the 6th of May. After this renunciation the spiritless prince became a close state-prisoner in France. Charles likewise resigned all his royal rights "in favour of his friend and ally the Emperor of the French;" and this part of the precious game was completed by Bonaparte's issuing a decree, whereby he appointed his "dearly beloved brother Joseph Napoleon, king of Naples and Sicily, to the crowns of Spain and the Indies." By a subsequent decree, he named "his dearly beloved cousin Joachim Murat, Grand Duke of Berg, to the throne of Naples and Sicily."

Advice had not been wanting to warn Bonaparte of the perilous nature of his Spanish enterprise, and to prevent his rushing into that war which he himself afterwards called "that wretched war, the cause of my ruin!" Even Fouché, his police minister, and the man

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of whom he stood in most awe, pleaded strongly, but in vain, against the whole enterprise. The presumptuous conqueror replied that the character of the Spanish government was contemptible, that Charles IV. was imbecile, that Godoy was a scoundrel and unpopular, and that one good volley of French artillery would scatter the common people and the monks who led them on or excited them. He knew at the moment, or at least he afterwards seemed to admit by the vast military preparations he made, and by the great precautions he took, that the fiery peasantry of Spain would not be so easily subdued or scattered; but his present object was simply to beat down the objection and opposition of Fouché, to whom he also exhibited the dazzling nature of the temptation which lay before him through the vices of the Spanish government, and the footing he was obtaining in the country by means of the iniquitous treaty of Fontainebleau and the marching of his troops into Portugal. "My stake," said he, "the stake I play for is immense! I will continue in my own dynasty the system of Louis XIV. and the Bourbons, and unite Spain for ever to the destinies of France. Remember, the sun never sets on the empire of Charles V.!"

Talleyrand endeavoured to turn the wilful man away from his project. The persuasive tone, the extensive information, the marvellous political sagacity of this minister, must have prevailed with almost any other sovereign; but they were thrown away upon one whose successes had driven him mad. Bonaparte complained of the pertinacity of Talleyrand; and Talleyrand now began to speak privately of Bonaparte as one who could not be served, because he would not listen to any advice that was contrary to a preconceived notion or to a cherished system. In a discussion on the affairs of Spain the Emperor of the French lost all respect for the high-born and able minister who had served him so long and so well, lost all command of his temper, and called Talleyrand "traitor" to his face. But that imperturbable, impassive face betrayed no more emotion than one of the marble statues in the Tuileries garden. Talleyrand

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looked placidly out upon that garden and its statues from the window above; but when he went home he shrugged his shoulders and said, "This is the beginning of the end!" (*C'est le commencement de la fin.*) On the 9th of August 1807, just eighteen days before the conclusion of the treaty of Fontainebleau, which was but a preparatory step to the greater but not more iniquitous Spanish scheme, Talleyrand either voluntarily resigned or was dismissed from office; and Champagny, who was immeasurably inferior to him in all qualities except that of passive obedience, was put into his place. From this moment nearly all political wisdom and moderation disappeared from the councils of Bonaparte, who had been far more indebted to Talleyrand than French or any other historians seem inclined to allow.

The flames of insurrection—commencing at Madrid on the 2nd of May—soon spread over the kingdom, to New Castile, to Old Castile, to Navarre, to Andalusia, to Valencia, to Catalonia, to the Biscayan provinces, to every province and district in Spain; and they raged almost in every town excepting those occupied by strong French garrisons. From every part of that peninsula there proceeded an earnest prayer for English assistance; and this aid was very soon granted them. In vain the native Spanish ministers, and other authorities whom Bonaparte had appointed to aid his brother in the task of government, issued manifestoes to assure the people that they would gain immensely by these political changes, that the French aimed at nothing but the good of their country, that their holy church and their ancient usages would be respected, revered; in vain these unnational Spaniards sent out agents to make converts, and get up a party for King Joseph; their manifestoes were spit upon and torn to pieces, their agents wherever they were detected by the people were slaughtered, and they themselves, ministers and high functionaries, or grandees, as they were, could not show their faces outside of the walls of Madrid, unless they were shielded by a body of French troops. After Murat had taken his departure,

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the management of a large part of the French army fell to Savary and other men who had little of his soldier-like magnanimity, who encouraged rather than checked the fury of the troops, exasperated by the frequent deaths of their comrades, cut off singly or in straggling parties; and who adopted as a principle that so unfriendly and stubborn a people was to be subjugated only by fire and sword. As in Calabria, cruelty begot cruelty, excess excess: from the beginning of the conflict between the French and Spaniards, to the end of it, it was a war of wild beasts; nor could the British officers ever convince the Spanish peasantry that they ought not to torture and then butcher the treacherous kidnappers of their king, the unprovoked invaders of their country. It was utterly hopeless to talk to them of the usages of civilized warfare. They were not civilized; and never was a more maddening provocation given to a naturally fierce people than that which was given to the Spaniards by the treacherous manner in which their country was invaded, and in the ruthless way in which the war was very soon carried on by the French.

Even before a terrible explosion at Madrid, a popular insurrection had broken out in Toledo, where men once made good sword-blades, and still knew how to use them. When the intrusive King Joseph crossed the frontiers, surrounded by a French and Italian army, he found no Spaniard to welcome him, or say, God bless him. At Vittoria the townspeople seemed disposed to prevent his entrance, and would certainly have fallen upon him but for his artillery and troops. He entered Madrid on the 20th of July; and on the 24th of that month he was proclaimed king. But by this time a local Spanish government was established at Seville, which took to itself the title of "Supreme Junta of Spain and the Indies," renewed the oath of allegiance to Ferdinand VII., issued a formal declaration of war against the usurper Joseph, called upon all Spaniards between the ages of sixteen and forty-five to fly to arms, summoned some veteran Spanish troops, at the camp of St. Roque,

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under the rock of Gibraltar, to march to Seville; and ordered General the Marques of Solano to attack and seize a French squadron of five sail of the line and a frigate, which had taken refuge in the harbour of Cadiz from the pursuit of the English. Solano hesitated, incurred the fatal suspicion of being a French partisan, and was murdered by the people of Cadiz. Nearly at the same time, and on account of the same suspicion, Count de Aguilar was butchered by the people of Seville. Don T. Morla, who succeeded to the Marques of Solano's command, seized all the French ships, and made prisoners of all the officers and crews, having refused English assistance. Before receiving the summons of the Seville junta, and even before the formation of that governing body, General Castaños, who commanded the army of Andalusia at St. Roque, had adopted the resolution of resisting the French, and applied (not vainly) to English officers for aid and assistance.

On the 4th of June, the birth-day of George III., a proclamation issued from the queen's palace at Buckingham House, stating that his majesty, having taken into consideration the glorious resolution of the Spaniards to deliver their country from the tyranny and usurpation of France, and the assurances his majesty had received from several of the provinces of Spain of their friendly disposition towards England, he was pleased to order that all hostilities against Spain should immediately cease. On the 9th of June Admiral Lord Collingwood, who had been watching Toulon, came down to Gibraltar with two ships of the line, being attracted thither by intelligence he had obtained of the rapid progress of the Spanish insurrection, and by letters he had received from Sir Hew Dalrymple, the governor. On the 10th Collingwood went through the straits to Cadiz, to take the command of the whole of the fleet assembled there, and to give such encouragement and such supplies as he could spare. He carried with him Major Cox, whom Sir Hew Dalrymple had selected to reside as confidential agent at Seville. Collingwood, who admired and loved the good parts of the Spanish character, was not blind

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to its defects; and though he had great hopes that this universal rising would be attended with important results, he very clearly foresaw that numerous and great errors would be committed, and that the struggle would not end quite so soon as men of more hope and less knowledge and experience seemed to imagine. When the war of independence began, the organised Spanish force was roughly estimated at 127,000 men of all arms, but of this number 15,000 men were far away, serving and shivering under the banner of Bonaparte, in Holstein and other regions of the Baltic; and nearly 20,000, concentrated in Portugal, were obeying the orders of Junot. Of the 92,000 or thereabouts that remained, not less than 30,000 were mere militia; but about 11,000 were Swiss infantry, with all the discipline, steadiness, and bravery for which Helvetic troops have always been celebrated. Thus the number of native regular troops actually on foot on the soil of Spain did not exceed 51,000 men; and these, for the most part, were but indifferently officered by off-shoots of the Spanish aristocracy, who were impatient of fatigue and of subordination, and who, speaking generally, and with due honour to the exceptions, possessed but few essential military qualities. There was another capital deficiency; in the whole Spanish army there was not a single staff deserving of the name—their staffs were sticks. These troops were widely dispersed in different parts of the kingdom; but the largest body among them happily chanced to be on the southern side of the Sierra Morena and in Andalusia. In addition to the 30,000 militia, there was a sort of local reserve, called Los Urbanos, or Urban Militia, a most irregular and motley force, but which, though not worth much in the field, could supply the place of better troops in the towns. At the same moment, or in the month of May, the French army, exclusive of the 30,000 men in Portugal with Junot, was about 80,000 strong; but not more than 70,000 were capable of service in the field, the rest being in the hospitals or in the depôts. There were some of Bonaparte's best men, imperial guards and veteran regiments

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of the line, but the much larger number was made up of conscripts, Swiss, Italians, Poles, and even Portuguese, whom Junot had forcibly levied. But at Bayonne, ready to march into Spain at any moment, was an army of reserve, under General Drouet, more than 20,000 strong; and, close in the rear of this army of reserve, other French corps were collected. The French army, too, like the Spanish, was at first scattered over a wide extent of country.

Upon entering into Catalonia, General Duhesme found himself involved in a destructive partisan war, waged by the indomitable peasantry of the mountains. It fell to the lot of Marshal Bessières to fight the first battle that was fought against the Spanish patriots. With far more enthusiasm and valour than prudence, the old Spanish general Cuesta, with his raw levies and a few Walloon regiments, and without any cavalry, risked a general action at Rio Seco, a few leagues from Valladolid, and sustained a complete defeat: this was on the 14th of June. But on the 22nd of July the French general Dupont, who had attempted to penetrate into Andalusia, and who had been completely surrounded and worsted in several combats by the Andalusian army of Castaños and by clouds of armed peasants, was compelled to lay down his arms. From 18,000 to 19,000 were thus made prisoners, with their artillery, baggage, and all they had. It was long since that the French had sustained so signal a disgrace. The news of this battle of Baylen and of Dupont's surrender flew like lightning to the Spanish capital, diffusing a joy and triumph which was not to be repressed by the presence and the oppressions of the French. A council of war was called by Joseph, and then and there it was determined to abandon Madrid, to retire behind the Ebro, and to establish court and head quarters in the city of Vittoria, which lies at a conveniently short distance from the French frontier. The intrusive king had not been a fortnight in his new capital when he was thus compelled to fly from it. The retreat of the French from Madrid began on the 1st of August; but General Castaños did not enter that city until the 23rd.

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Among the many important results of the affair of Baylen and the flight of King Joseph, was the raising of the memorable siege of Zaragoza. This ancient capital of the kingdom of Aragon, though miserably fortified, had resisted 15,000 Frenchmen for the space of two months, and had inflicted on them a terrific loss. The Spanish women had fought like heroic men; and the fair Augustina, the far-famed maid of Zaragoza, had served on the batteries. When the French general Verdier, thinking the town more than half taken, had sent to propose a capitulation, Palafox, the governor, had replied, "Guerra al cuchillo!" war to the knife!

Nor was Duhesme more successful in the siege of Gerona. Assisted by Admiral Lord Collingwood, the Catalans foiled all this French general's efforts, and reduced his army to a wretched state of disorganization. Marshal Moncey also failed in his operations in Valencia. But the Spanish general Serbelloni, imprudently risking a battle in the open field with badly disciplined troops, sustained a complete defeat. These details will be sufficient to convey a notion of the manner in which the war was carried on by the Spaniards so long as they were left to act in the field by themselves. Notwithstanding the affair of Baylen, which raised their self-confidence to a giddy and dangerous elevation, and some other encounters in which, mainly through the advantages of ground and other local circumstances, they had a decided advantage, it was on the whole very clearly demonstrated that there was very little military genius among the Spanish commanders, that a Spanish army could not yet contend in the open field with veteran French troops, and that *all* the Spaniards fought best when covered by walls and strong stone houses. But by this time British bayonets were glittering on the shores of the Peninsula; and General Sir Arthur Wellesley was preparing to enter upon a career far greater and more glorious than his Indian one had been.

The French had rendered themselves as odious in Portugal as in Spain. A national rising, which commenced at Oporto, spread rapidly into Tras os Montes,

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Minho, Beira, and Algarve. The people and students of Coimbra enthusiastically flew to arms, submitting to the junta of Oporto as the legitimate government; the people of Alemtejo followed the example of the people of Algarve, and both were supported by a body of Spanish troops which crossed the frontiers at an opportune moment. Junot, whose head was never very clear, became completely bewildered, and his subordinates only increased the popular fury by the indiscriminate massacres they committed. The Portuguese called upon their ancient allies. On the 1st of August General Wellesley landed near the town of Figueira. On the 5th General Spencer joined from Cadiz, with about 4000 men, thus raising the entire force under Sir Arthur's command to 13,000 foot and 400 or 500 horse.

The French forces at this time in Portugal consisted of from 16,000 to 18,000 men; but, deducting the garrisons of Elvas, Peniche, Setubal, and other places, there remained only about 14,000 men for the defence of Lisbon and its approaches. Their communications were cut off from their countrymen in Spain, for, since the surrender of Dupont, the Spanish patriots were masters of Andalusia and Estremadura, and in Old Castile the French corps under Bessières had not advanced farther than Benavente, being observed by the Spanish army of Galicia. A clear stage was therefore left for the contest in Portugal between Wellesley and Junot, whose respective disposable forces were nearly equal, except that the French had the advantage of a considerable body of cavalry, an arm in which the English were almost entirely wanting. On the 9th of August Sir Arthur began his march southward for Lisbon. On the 16th the French general Delaborde attempted to make a stand at Roliça, but he was soon driven back with loss of men and guns. The French troops had been told that the English were nought, and that their general, Sir Arthur Wellesley, was but a sepoy-general, who might beat Indian sultans and rajahs, but who was altogether incapable of contending against French commanders who had risen out of the revolution and had been trained under

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the Emperor Napoleon; but the precision of movement, the unflinching steadiness, the regularity and the quickness of their firing, undeceived them, and displayed the real qualities of British infantry, while all those who understood anything of the business of war saw a high directing mind, and felt that the sepoy-general was a great master in the art of war. Steadily pressing forward, Sir Arthur reached Vimeiro on the 19th, and was there joined on the 20th by Generals Anstruther and Ackland, with two brigades freshly arrived from England. This raised his force to about 17,000 British, besides 1700 Portuguese. But Junot, by calling in his garrisons, had now a force numerically equal or nearly equal to this, and he retained his superiority in cavalry, as also in artillery. But what was of more consequence than all, just at this critical moment Sir Arthur Wellesley was superseded in the chief command by a very inferior personage, Lieutenant-General Sir Harry Burrard.

As soon as it was resolved at home to raise the British army in the Peninsula to 30,000 men, ministers gave the chief command to Lieutenant-General Sir Hew Dalrymple, who, as acting governor of Gibraltar, had so promptly aided Castaños and the Spanish army of Andalusia; and they appointed Sir Harry Burrard to be Sir Hew's second in command, leaving Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore, who had just returned from a fruitless expedition to the Baltic, and who was now on his way to the Peninsula, and Lieutenant-Generals Sir Arthur Wellesley, the Honourable John Hope, Lord Paget, and Mackenzie Fraser to command respective divisions of the army. Wellesley was thus reduced from first to fourth. Accidents, and the order in which the new-appointed generals arrived, made a bad scheme worse. Sir Harry Burrard arrived first; on the evening of the 26th he came to Maceira Bay, near Vimeiro. Sir Arthur immediately went on board, and reported to Sir Harry the situation of the army and his own intended plan of operations, which was to continue marching along the coast-road as far as Mafra. No plan could have been better; no reinforcements were wanting, the British, without

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counting either the Portuguese regulars or the insurgent peasantry for anything, being rather superior in number to the French in front of them, and elated by the success they had obtained at Roliça. There was probably not a man or an officer in the army but was anxious to advance. Sir Harry Burrard, however, thought differently, being of opinion that no further advance ought to be made till the arrival of the reinforcements under Sir John Moore. But the enemy in the meantime was bringing the question to a speedy issue. With 15,000 men and with generals far abler than himself, Junot advanced from Torres Vedras, and, at ten o'clock in the morning of the 21st of August, he fell upon the British at Vimeiro. In two hours the affair was decided, and Junot's 15,000 men were completely routed by about one-half of the British force. The French left on the field 1800 killed and wounded, many prisoners, and fourteen cannon. The first British brigade, by a masked movement, had got two miles nearer to Torres Vedras than was any part of the French army, and the whole of that army, moreover, was in the greatest confusion. There was abundant time and an admirable opportunity to annihilate Junot; but Sir Harry Burrard had landed, and had brought with him the depressing, nightmare-like influences of senility and irresolution. Sir Harry had been present on the field during part of the engagement, but he had declined assuming the command, or any way interfering with Sir Arthur Wellesley's disposition till the enemy was repulsed. But then, when the French were running off, almost in a *sauve qui peut* disorder, when Major-General Ronald Ferguson on the left was close upon them, when General Hill was ready to spring forward by a shorter road than the French could take upon Torres Vedras (which must have cut them off from Lisbon, and perhaps have obliged them to lay down their arms), and when General Wellesley would have followed up his victory by a general and rapid movement forward, Sir Harry Burrard demurred, thought it unwise to hazard the fortune of the day upon what he considered a perilous throw—thought it advisable not to move any

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farther, especially on account of the superiority of the French cavalry—thought it best of all to suspend offensive operations, and to wait in the position of Vimeiro until the arrival of Sir John Moore. Accordingly General Ferguson was ordered to desist from pursuit, General Hill was called in; and the French officers, to their great astonishment, were allowed to rally their men, and make good their retreat to the always admirable position of Torres Vedras. On the next day, the 22nd, Sir Hew Dalrymple arriving in a frigate from Gibraltar, landed in Maceira Bay, and superseded Sir Harry Burrard, as Sir Harry had superseded Sir Arthur Wellesley. Thus, owing to the unwise arrangements of our own government, and to chances which they ought to have foreseen, the army, within twenty-four hours, had successively three commanders-in-chief! The time for prosecuting the victory was gone before Sir Hew Dalrymple came ashore; and popular clamour was guilty of great injustice towards Sir Hew both with regard to the battle of Vimeiro and the convention which followed it.

In the course of the 22nd General Kellermann appeared at the British head-quarters, with a flag of truce, to propose in the name of Junot an armistice, preparatory to a convention for the entire evacuation of Portugal by the French, with their arms and baggage. The terms were discussed between Kellermann and Sir Hew Dalrymple; Sir Harry Burrard and Sir Arthur Wellesley both being present. In the end the suspension of arms was agreed upon, to terminate at forty-eight hours' notice; and Sir Hew directed General Wellesley to sign this agreement. On the 23rd Sir Hew and the army made a forward movement from Vimeiro to Ramalhal, near Torres Vedras, but within the boundary stipulated by the armistice which he had ordered Sir Arthur Wellesley to sign.

Junot still talked very high and endeavoured to gain time; but on the morning of the 27th instructions were sent to Colonel George Murray at Lisbon to break off the negotiation if Junot should be found obstinate; and to tell him, that in no case the armistice would be pro-

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longed for a more extended period than 24 hours. This, with the arrival of Sir John Moore and his 20,000 men in Maceira Bay, startled Junot, who at one moment had thought of defending the strong position of Torres Vedras, and at another of crossing the Tagus, and throwing his forces into Elvas. On the 29th the term for the suspension of hostilities having expired, Sir Hew moved his head-quarters to Torres Vedras, from which the French had withdrawn. On the 30th Junot at last signed the treaty; and the DEFINITIVE CONVENTION was ratified by Sir Hew Dalrymple, at Torres Vedras, on the 31st. Sir Arthur Wellesley was not present at this final ratification, having moved to the left very early in the morning, and being now at Sobral with his division. We have his own words, in various forms, for the assurance of the fact, that, after the fatal orders of Sir Harry Burrard on the field of Vimeiro (orders with which Dalrymple had nothing to do, as he was many miles off, at sea in his frigate), he approved of a convention allowing the French to evacuate Portugal; that he felt that the favourable moment for pushing upon the French had been lost; that, if they could not be brought to evacuate the country by sea, they might either defend themselves desperately within Lisbon, or cross to Elvas and Almeida, which, being places regularly fortified, would have required regular and long sieges, during which the British army could not have been made available in Spain, where the presence of a part of it was earnestly desired by some of the Spaniards, and whither the British government was very eager that some corps should go as quickly as possible.* It was not against the convention itself, but against the monstrous folly which made it necessary, and against some particular clauses of, and omissions in, the definitive treaty, that he was indignant. He wrote to Lord Castlereagh that the treaty had been altered, but not as he thought it ought to have been; that ten days after the battle of Vimeiro the army was not farther advanced than it could or ought to have been on the

* See Colonel Gurwood, Wellington Dispatches.

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night of the 21st; that matters were not prospering; that he felt an earnest desire to quit the army; that he had been too successful with this army ever to serve with it in a subordinate situation.

The forts on the Tagus were taken possession of on the 2nd of September, by the British troops, and the port of Lisbon was then opened to our shipping. On the 8th or 9th one of our corps marched into Lisbon, in the midst of popular acclamations and rejoicings, to secure tranquillity, during the embarkation of the enemy. Transports being collected, the French presently began to depart; and except their last division, detained by orders from England, they were all sent off before the end of September.

Both long and loud was the popular vociferation in England against the whole of the convention, miscalled of Cintra. No measure, indeed, was ever more universally reprobated, or less understood or inquired into. Nor was this a merely popular outcry; soldiers, and statesmen, and secretaries of state, shared in the violence, and both court and cabinet swelled the chorus. At first, all were blamed, and no exception was made in favour of Sir Arthur Wellesley. The government appointed a board of inquiry, consisting of four generals and three lieutenant-generals. Sir Hew Dalrymple and Sir Harry Burrard were recalled in order to be examined by this board, and Sir Arthur Wellesley, who had already asked and obtained leave to return home, was also examined at his own desire. The Court of Inquiry assembled in the great hall of Chelsea College on Monday the 14th of November, and continued sitting with adjournments until the 27th of December. The final report stated that, however some of the members of the court might differ respecting the fitness of the Convention, they were unanimously of opinion that "unquestionable zeal and firmness appeared throughout to have been exhibited by Lieutenant-Generals Sir Hew Dalrymple, Sir Harry Burrard, Sir Arthur Wellesley," &c.

But neither the ministry nor the court, neither the parliament nor the people, assented to the very inconclu-

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sive award of the board of inquiry. All, or nearly all, now agreed as to the honour that was due unto Sir Arthur Wellesley, and in the opinion that, if Sir Harry Burrard had not interfered with him on the field of Vimeiro, there would have been no convention, but an unconditional surrender on the part of Junot. But there was much less fairness in allotting the dishonour or the blame. We know not to what prejudices or influences in high quarters it was owing that an undue portion of censure and severity fell upon Sir Hew Dalrymple; we only know the facts that Lord Castlereagh and the king both declared themselves strongly against him, that ministers turned him out as a scapegoat, and that a very severe censure was addressed to him in his majesty's name. Sir Harry Burrard, who was a hundredfold more censurable, immediately resumed the military command of the London district, which he had held before he was sent to Portugal.

After the sitting of the court of inquiry, Sir Arthur Wellesley, whose sharp, concise answers before the board showed the clearness of his head and the firmness of his heart, resumed the duties of his office as chief secretary for Ireland, seeming determined to devote himself entirely to home politics and administration. He went over to Ireland in December; and when parliament assembled in January he returned and took his seat. But most men felt that his properer place would be at the seat of war, and the disastrous occurrences in the Peninsula soon strengthened this conviction.

A few days after the battle of Vimeiro dispatches arrived in Portugal from Lord Castlereagh containing the appointment of Sir John Moore to the command of the British troops to be employed in Spain. On the 6th of October Sir John received more explicit instructions, the secretary-at-war informing him that his army of 20,000 men was to be employed in the northern provinces of Spain, "to co-operate with the *Spanish armies* in the expulsion of the French from that kingdom." Lord Castlereagh also intimated that an additional corps of 10,000 men under Sir David Baird was about to sail for

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Coruña. Marching through Portugal in the worst of weather, over execrable roads, and with no proper guides, Sir John Moore crossed the boundary between that kingdom and Spain on the 11th of November, and on the 13th he reached Salamanca.

In the mean time Sir David Baird with his 10,000 men had reached the northern coast of Spain. Sir David had anchored at Coruña on the 13th of October; but to his great surprise, the Supreme Junta of Galicia refused to allow his troops to be landed; and he was informed that the assent of the central government, or junta now sitting at Madrid, must be obtained previously. This unfriendly treatment proceeded from Spanish vainglory and conceit, and from the prevalent notion that their own troops could drive the French beyond the Pyrenees without the assistance of foreign auxiliaries. It took a deal of beating to beat this conceit out of them. For fourteen long days Sir David Baird's 10,000 men were kept cooped up in the transports in the harbour of Coruña. At last a courier arrived from the Dons at Madrid, who, after mature deliberation, thought fit to grant leave to the army to land. Baird had been sent on this expedition without specie, and Moore had been supplied only with 25,000*l*. He was, however, under the necessity of transmitting 8000*l*. to Baird to enable him to move from Coruña.

Before Moore began his march from Coimbra, he was assured that the French, weak in numbers and in organization, were lying behind the river Ebro, menaced by superior Spanish armies, that were all elated with success and quite capable of preventing any advance of the enemy; but on the very day after his arrival at Salamanca he got accounts of the defeat of the Conde de Belveder in front of Burgos; and two nights after this news was brought to him that the Spanish General Blake had risked his army and lost it at Espinosa, on the borders of the Asturias. Thus two of the armies with which he had been ordered to co-operate were already no more; no communication reached him from Castaños; none were transmitted him from the Spanish government at

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Madrid; and the ingenious author of 'Whistlecraft' seems to have continued his doze on the banks of the Manzanares. Mr. John Hookham Frere, our accredited minister at Madrid, was a man of wit and genius, but absent-minded, constitutionally indolent, and assuredly never meant by nature for a diplomatist. He miserably misled the general in the field, being himself misled and duped by the prating Spanish politicians of Madrid, and by the not over-honest members of the central junta. Everything corresponding with this bad beginning, the expedition of Sir John Moore could not prove otherwise than unfortunate. By this time the English government had supplied Spain with 200,000 muskets, with ammunition in proportion, with clothing, and with sixteen millions of hard dollars; Mr. Frere had delivered two millions of dollars for the sole use of the Spaniards in the north, among whom Moore now found himself; yet our general could derive no assistance from these people, the Spanish armies in other parts were in a state of destitution and nakedness, and were lying scattered all about. "These provinces," said Sir John, "are not armed; and, as to enthusiasm, I have seen no marks of it."

While Moore was thus desponding at Salamanca, Bonaparte in person was crossing the Pyrenees, with 70,000 more men.

In the month of September the Emperor of the French had repaired to Erfurt to hold conferences with the Emperor of Russia. The subjects of their conferences were carefully concealed; but it was generally understood that the question of Spain and the fate of Turkey were agitated, without reference to any other principle than that of the advantage and aggrandisement of the two emperors. It should also seem that it was understood between them that Alexander should not interfere in the Spanish question, and that Napoleon should allow him in return to encroach on the trans-Danubian provinces of the Sultan; for, shortly after this meeting at Erfurt, Russian troops were again poured into Wallachia and Moldavia. The two emperors wrote a joint letter to the

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King of England, inviting him to a speedy pacification, but laying down no basis for negotiation, and offering no conditions for our allies. To this doubly imperial, but really insignificant, epistle, not George III., but Mr. Canning, his secretary for foreign affairs, replied in two spirited notes, one addressed to the Russian, the other to the French minister for foreign affairs. From Erfurt Bonaparte hastened back to Paris, and there told his senate that he and the Emperor of Russia were irrevocably united in the bond of alliance. This was on the 18th of October. On the 25th he opened the session of the *corps législatif*, and told that soulless body that he was going in person to take charge of the Spanish war, and drive the English out of Portugal. He used a style which he had already worn threadbare, but which he could not use too often:—"The hideous presence of the English leopards contaminates the continent of Spain and Portugal. I go to place myself at the head of my armies, to crown my brother at Madrid, and to plant the French eagles on the ramparts of Lisbon!" Two days after this he set out for the Pyrenees. Troops had been for some time collecting on that frontier; for, still anticipating his vital resources, Bonaparte had called out two conscriptions.

The very *élite* of his immense army was now to engage in this momentous struggle. Before they arrived in the country which was destined to be the grave of most of them, a small army of native Spanish veterans and patriots was wafted to the shores of the Peninsula in English ships. At the time when Spain and her resources were entirely at the disposal of Bonaparte, Manuel Godoy had sent General the Marques de la Romana, with 15,000 men, to serve the French on the shores of the Baltic, or wherever else the conqueror might choose to employ them. These Spanish troops were quartered in Holstein, Sleswig, Jutland, and the islands of Funen, Zealand, and Langeland, when Mr. Mac Kenzie, an agent employed by the English ministers, opened a communication with Romana by means of a Catholic priest. The Spanish general was incensed at the iniquitous pro-

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ceedings at Bayonne; his soldiers were equally indignant; and all were most heartily sick of their exile in Denmark and those Baltic regions. A plan was ingeniously concerted and most ably executed. The marques, with from 9000 to 10,000 of his men, after being aided by Admiral Sir R. Keats, got safely on board our Baltic fleet, commanded by Sir James Saumarez. Touching at England, where the marques received a most enthusiastic welcome, he proceeded to S. Andero, and there landed his men, who were equipped from the English stores, and were then sent in divisions to join Blake's army in Biscay.

On the 8th of November, Bonaparte arrived at his brother's head-quarters in the city of Vittoria, and took the entire direction of the campaign. On the 23rd of November was fought the battle of Tudela, in which the armies of Castaños and Palafox were quickly thrown into disorder, put to flight, and savagely slaughtered by the French cavalry. Plundering the towns through which they passed, and shooting every Spaniard they caught in arms (Bonaparte having given an express and standing order to that effect), some of the French columns marched forward to drive out the central junta and take possession of Madrid.

Having done nothing when they had time to do it, the central junta now precipitated measures in the most hurried and confused manner, issuing a multitude of orders, some of which were not understood, and very few of which were attended to, partly through the despair which seemed to have fallen upon the Spanish people, and partly through the shortness of time that was allowed them. On the 29th of November, Bonaparte had his head-quarters at a village upon the outer skirts of Somosierra. On the 30th the principal pass was carried, the 6000 Spaniards intrenched at Sepulveda flying before a charge of Polish lancers. On the morning of the 2nd of December, Bessières, with the French cavalry, came within sight of Madrid, and took possession of the heights; and at noon on the same day, being the anniversary of his coronation, the Emperor of the French

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arrived. The town was immediately summoned. There was a great noise and a show of resistance; but early in the morning of the 4th of December, Don T. Morla, who was both a traitor and a coward, and who had played upon the credulity of Mr. Frere, came forth with a capitulation, and Madrid surrendered. Joseph Bonaparte entered that capital in the tail of the French army; but, though all seemed quiet and submissive, he dreaded insurrection and assassination; and, while his brother went to look after Sir John Moore, he retired, well guarded, to the Royal Palace at St. Ildefonso.

The situation of the English general was critical in the extreme. On the 28th of November, Sir John received vague intelligence of the unexpected dispersion of all the Spanish armies, and of the rapid advance of Bonaparte with overwhelming forces upon Madrid. As there appeared no longer any army in the north of Spain with which he could combine, he prepared for a retreat into Portugal. But Mr. Frere continued to urge his advance, grossly misstating the French force, and representing the Spaniards at Madrid as full of resolution and heroism.* Two Spanish generals also arrived at Salamanca to assure Moore that the army of San Juan was in excellent case. But, before these two generals and a letter from Morla

* Parliamentary papers.—"Mr. Frere had come out to Spain impressed with false notions of what was passing in that country, and, tenaciously clinging to the pictures of his imagination, he resented the intrusion of reason and spurned at facts. The defeat of the Conde de Belveder at Gamonal—a defeat that broke the centre of the Spanish line, uncovered the flank and rear of Castaños's army, opened a way to Madrid, and rendered the concentration of the British divisions unsafe if not impossible,—he curiously called the 'unlucky affair of the 10th at Burgos.' After the battle of Tudela he estimated the whole French army on the side of Burgos and Valladolid at *eleven thousand* men, when they were above *one hundred thousand;* and yet, with information so absurdly defective, he was prompt to interfere with, and eager to control, the military combinations of the General (Sir John Moore), which were founded upon the true and acknowledged principles of the art of war."—*Napier.*

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came to hand, the French were undisputed masters of the capital; and the army of San Juan existed nowhere except upon paper, for the troops had fled pusillanimously, and had murdered—at Talavera—their own general, reputed the best officer in the Spanish service. There is every reason for believing that Don T. Morla's letter, which was dated on the 2nd of December, the very day that he actually began negotiating terms for surrendering Madrid, was dictated by some of Bonaparte's people, or was written and sent to serve that conqueror by drawing the English army into a snare. Continuing in his moral stone-blindness, Mr. Frere took into his confidence a certain French adventurer and spy, named Charmilly, who had secret relations with the traitor Morla, and even sent him to Sir John's cantonments. In the end, Moore was induced to believe that Madrid, instead of having surrendered without firing a gun, was really standing a siege; that the Spanish generals were concentrating their scattered forces, and that the French army was far less considerable than had been reported. On the 6th of December he wrote to Sir David Baird, who had retreated as far as Villa Franca, to concentrate his troops and return to Astorga. "I mean," said Moore, "to proceed bridle in hand; for if the bubble bursts *we shall have a run for it.*" And the bubble did burst. Advancing to Benevente, and then to the banks of the Carion with less than 24,000 men, Moore, on the 25th of December, found Bonaparte and 100,000 men closing upon him by four different routes. The French had fully expected to surprise and surround him; but notwithstanding his amazing rapidity, Bonaparte arrived twelve hours too late. On the 26th, Moore commenced his retreat for Coruña. On the 1st of January, Bonaparte had advanced as far as Astorga.

A.D. 1809.—From the heights behind Astorga, the Emperor of the French could discover the now confused rear of the retreating English army; but he was exceedingly wroth that Moore, by his rapid movements, should have escaped him, and circumstances had arisen in a distant part of the world which prevented his enjoying the

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satisfaction of pursuing the most cordially hated of all his enemies. Dispatches arrived from Paris and from other places, which left no doubt as to the intention of Austria to take the field against him; and therefore, on the 2nd, entrusting the pursuit of Moore to Soult, he turned away from Benevente to Valladolid, whence he travelled with almost incredible speed to his own capital, cursing all the way the efficiency of English policy, alliances, and subsidies, to which solely he attributed the war with which he was now threatened in Germany and Italy. But even after his emperor's departure Soult had 60,000 men and 91 guns to put in the track of Moore; and he lost no time in precipitating these masses through Galicia. His cavalry was very soon close upon the British rear; and the whole of that army, from excessive privation and suffering, from the murmurs and misconduct of many of the officers, and from the despondency generally induced by such a retreat, was becoming every day demoralized. They had hardly any provisions with them, they could obtain little or nothing except sour wine, in that famine-stricken country; the roads were wretched, and covered with deep snow; when it did not snow it rained in torrents; the cold on the mountains was intense; and many of the sick, and many of the women and children who had been allowed to follow the army in spite of Sir John's orders, lay down by the road side and died. Yet, wherever or whenever the French came up to fight, the English formed in good order and beat them off. At last, on the 13th of January, Moore got sight of the sea and of Coruña; but his evil star was still predominant; a fleet of transports, in which his army could have been quickly embarked in safety, was not there, but detained by contrary winds at Vigo, and there were only a few small vessels in the harbour. He, however, pressed forward to the town and put his wearied troops into quarters. The town of Coruña was weakly fortified, and commanded on one side by some heights. Some general officers thought that even now the campaign must end in a convention. But such thoughts were far from the mind of Moore, who strengthened the weak side of the town, occupied the

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citadel, put the worst of his sick on board the few vessels in the harbour, and made the best dispositions to fight the French and secure his embarkation by a general action. In the evening of the 14th, the transports hove in sight; but it was now impossible to think of embarking without fighting a battle, or abandoning a great portion of the army as a rear-guard; for Soult had come up, was crowning the hills, and his light troops were skirmishing close outside the town. In the course of this night and following morning, the remainder of the sick, the dismounted cavalry, and 52 pieces of artillery, were safely embarked, Moore retaining on shore only eight English and four Spanish guns for action. During the night of the 15th, Soult with great difficulty established a battery of eleven heavy guns, on some rocks which closed the left of his line. At one o'clock in the afternoon of the 16th, he began his attack on the right wing of the British with about 20,000 men. Moore had only 14,500 under arms—all foot-soldiers and full of ardour. Sir John rode up to the 42nd, and said "Highlanders, remember Egypt!" At these words the 42nd rushed forward driving the French before them. Early in the fight Sir David Baird had his arm shattered with grape-shot, and was forced to quit the field. Not long after, at a point where the battle was raging very fiercely, Sir John Moore was struck on the shoulder and left breast by a cannon-ball. He fell from his horse, and was soon carried by some weeping Highlanders to his lodgings at Coruña. The battle continued until the French fell back in confusion, leaving the ground thickly strewed with their killed and wounded. Soult had consumed nearly all the ammunition he had brought up with him. Sir John Hope, upon whom the command devolved, thought it best to avail himself of the present disorder of the French, and get his own army on board the transports during the night. And this difficult operation was effected without delay and without confusion. The arrangements for embarkation had all been previously made by Moore, and they were complete and admirable. Before the troops began to embark, their beloved leader was dead. At mid-

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night the mortal remains were carried to the citadel by Colonel Graham, Major Colborne, and the aides-de-camp. A grave was dug by a party of the 9th regiment, the aides-de-camp attending by turns. No coffin could be procured, as the Spaniards never use any; so the body was never undressed, but wrapped up by the officers of his staff in blankets and a military cloak. Towards eight o'clock on the morning of the 17th some firing was heard in the distance. The simple funeral rites were then hastened, lest a serious attack should be made, which would oblige the officers to quit the body and prevent their paying the last sad duties to their chief. The officers of his own staff bore the body to the grave, which the soldiers had dug on the rampart: the funeral-service was read by the chaplain, and then the earth was thrown in, and the grave closed by the soldiers.

When the morning dawned, the French, discovering that the British line had quitted its position, pushed forward some battalions to the heights of Santa Lucia; and, about noon, they got up some cannon to a rising ground near the harbour, and fired at the transports. At two o'clock in the afternoon General Hill's protecting brigade embarked under the citadel. During that night and the following morning General Beresford, who kept possession of the citadel, sent off all the sick and wounded whose condition admitted of their being removed: and about noon on the 18th this rear-guard got into the boats and reached the fleet in safety. The inhabitants had undertaken to maintain the town, but it appears that the French made no effort to attack it, or to interrupt the embarkation. The enemy were no doubt kept in awe by the presence of some English line-of-battle ships. When all were on board, the admiral made the signal for sailing, and the transports, under a strong convoy, sailed for England.

In the battle of Coruña the English lost from 800 to 1000 men, the French from 2000 to 3000. Our troops had never fought better.

Thus ended the retreat to Coruña and the first campaign (during the present war, for the exploits of Lord Peterborough and General Stanhope in Queen Anne's

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time must not be forgotten) of the English in Spain. Our greatest captain has said that he could discover only one error in Moore's campaign—his not sufficiently providing for retreat when he advanced against Soult.*

The great Whig organ in the north had not waited till now to cast discredit upon the war in the Peninsula and our interference in it; to declare despondingly that, after all, we must expect to fight the battle with Bonaparte on our own shores; that Ireland must be torn from us, and that even the most unsuccessful war which France could carry on in this commercial country must be attended with the most dreadful of consequences. The same organ or luminary had, at the beginning of the struggle, delivered the discouraging oracle that the Spaniards could not be aided, but must be defeated and for ever subdued by the tremendous power of the French emperor; that it would be madness in the English to think of assisting them, and a wickedness of the worst sort to endeavour to form another coalition against the French; that army after army would be poured through the Pyrenees until all Spain was one field of blood; that nothing could resist the vigour and unity of Bonaparte, and the discipline of his veteran soldiers, &c. &c.† The defeats and errors of the Spaniards, the retreat and death of Moore, and other obvious facts, had prepared many minds for the reception of these dark omens; and a large portion of the parliamentary opposition were disposed not only to censure our management of the war in the Peninsula, but also to maintain that no management or skill whatsoever could enable us either to defend Portugal and Spain, or

* The modest words of the great captain are these:—"In Sir John Moore's campaign, I can see but one error: when he advanced to Sahagun he should have considered it as a movement of retreat, and sent officers to the rear to mark and prepare the halting-places for every brigade. But this opinion I have formed after long experience of war, and especially of *the peculiarities of a Spanish war, which must have been seen to be understood;* finally, it is an opinion formed *after* the event."

† See Edinburgh Review. Vols. ix. xii. xiii.

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to inflict any blow by land on our invincible foe. All these parliamentary prophecies may be read, by those who have the patience to read them, in the debates of the times. We say *times*, for they were not only issued now, but continued to be issued for years, and almost down to the eve of the brilliant day when Wellington drove the last French corps down the French side of the Pyrenees. The majority for ministers who entertained better hopes was found, however, to be considerable. Five days before the meeting of parliament—on the 14th of January, when Moore's retreat was known, and when Spanish affairs bore so gloomy an aspect—Mr. Canning signed the treaty of amity and alliance with the Spanish insurgents, binding his country, which was not hitherto bound by any treaty, to support the cause to the utmost of its power; and never to acknowledge any other king of Spain than his Catholic majesty Ferdinand VII., his heirs, *or such lawful successor as the Spanish nation itself should acknowledge*. This was a species of political heroism, let the hopes our ministers entertained about the new Austrian war be what they might.

The noble secretary-at-war lost no time in urging the necessity of increasing our military force. By two acts greater activity was given to enlistment in the militia, and that force was carried to its full number; the vacancies left by the bill of last session for allowing the militia soldiers to volunteer into the line were filled up; and from 20,000 to 30,000 regular troops, which had been doing garrison or coast duty, were added to the corps disposable for foreign service. An active system of recruiting for the line was commenced at the same time. Some additions were also made to the navy; and in this year the number of cruising line-of-battle ships in commission was 127, being the maximum during the war. Above 27,000,000*l.* were voted for the army and ordnance, and nearly 19,000,000*l.* for the navy. The total amount of supplies for the year for Great Britain and Ireland was 53,862,000*l.* Among the ways and means it was necessary to raise a loan of 11,000,000*l.* The loan was contracted for at a lower rate of interest than money had

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ever been before borrowed at on the public account: ministers quoted this as proof of public credit and prosperity.

Early in the session a subject was introduced which excited extraordinary interest, and which, for months, caused nearly all other public matters to be forgotten by the people. Mr. Wardle, a Welsh gentleman and colonel of militia, who had married a Welsh lady of considerable fortune, who in earlier days had been distinguished by his high Tory zeal, and by the eagerness with which he offered to carry his Welsh militia-men into Ireland to put down the rebels, had lately changed his political creed, and had cultivated a close acquaintance with Sir Francis Burdett, Lord Folkestone, and other members of the extreme opposition party. On the 27th of January he affirmed in the House of Commons that everything was wrong and rotten at the Horse-Guards; that the Duke of York, the commander-in-chief, suffered himself to be swayed by one Mary-Anne Clarke, who had been carrying on a traffic in commissions and promotions. Not satisfied with blaming the easiness of temper of the royal commander-in-chief, Wardle insisted that he was a partaker in the benefit and profit arising from these pecuniary transactions. This was a fine theme for the opposition orators in parliament, and for the ballad-singers in the streets. An enquiry was instituted, and Mrs. Clarke was examined at the bar of the House, where she displayed infinite malice, infinite impudence, and a great deal of promptitude and wit. It was not proved, unless we admit the evidence of this woman, and a single story of her friend Miss Mary-Anne Taylor (whose brother was married to Mrs. Clarke's sister), that the commander-in-chief ever knew of her getting money even for her own use by the favours which he dispensed at her intercession; but that he had yielded to that intercession, and had granted a few commissions, promotions, and appointments to persons recommended by Mrs. Clarke, was proved and established by ample and good evidence. Testimonials of the highest value, as coming from the most competent judges, continued, however, to be given

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to the Duke of York's general management of affairs at the Horse-Guards; and it was cogently urged that the numerous improvements which he had introduced into the army, and the point of excellence to which the army had attained since he had been its commander-in-chief, ought to cover and wipe away a few petty irregularities and peccadilloes. It might be proved that the duke had his weaknesses, but no one could disprove the facts that he had been assiduous and most punctual in his attention to the business of the army, and that he had proved himself to be a good man of business. The army had never had a commander-in-chief with whom it was so well satisfied, or to whom it was so much attached:—take common soldiers, as well as officers of every class, and these feelings of satisfaction and attachment would be found in immense majorities. Such were the best arguments used in the duke's defence, and the truths on which they rest remain indisputable. The House, however, on the 19th of March only counted a majority of 82 upon a motion favourable to the duke; and hereupon his royal highness resigned. This terminated a discussion which occupied nearly a third of the whole session, to the grievous interruption of other business.

It had been hoped, on the resignation of the Duke of York, that the system of the Admiralty would be adopted at the War-Office, and that the office of commander-in-chief would be put in commission. This had been the more confidently expected as it would make several places, instead of one, and so far tend to increase the patronage of government. But, to the disappointment of sundry expectants, ministers made no alteration in the existing system, and that worthy but old and pedantic and worn-out officer, Lieutenant-General Sir David Dundas, was appointed to succeed his royal highness. The army felt that it had sustained a grievous loss by this change, and before old Sir David had presided six months at the Horse-Guards there was a universal clamour against him.

On the 15th of June, Sir Francis Burdett made a motion for a sweeping parliamentary reform. Nearly all the country gentlemen in the House had left town, and of

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the members that remained but few were inclined to enter upon this discussion at the fag-end of the session. Sir Francis had intended to make his motion the day before, but there had not been members enough present to make a House; and now, when the House divided, he found only 15 to vote for him, while 74 voted against him. On the 21st of June the session was closed with a speech from the throne, again delivered by commissioners.

The Austrian war operated as a grand diversion likely to be highly favourable for the Peninsula, as it distracted the attention of Bonaparte, obliged him to withdraw his Imperial Guards from Spain, and prevented his sending reinforcements to that country so quickly as he would otherwise have done. The British government, undismayed by the unfortunate, but not inglorious or discouraging result of Sir John Moore's campaign, and undeterred by the orators and writers who represented the attempt as the height of madness, resolved to persevere in sending assistance to the Peninsula, and to enter upon that war on a larger and a bolder scale. Spain, at that moment, did indeed seem prostrate and lost; and even Portugal, from which the French had been completely expelled, was, long before the rising of parliament, reinvaded by an army under Marshal Soult. But, in a memorandum dated on the 7th of March, Sir Arthur Wellesley, who had well examined the country during his short stay in it, delivered his decided opinion that Portugal might be defended, whatever might be the result of the contest in Spain; and that in the meantime the measures adopted for the defence of Portugal would be highly useful to the Spaniards in their contest with the French.

There could now scarcely be a doubt as to the proper person to be appointed to the supreme command of the armies in Portugal. If any such doubt had lingered, it ought to have been dissipated by Sir Arthur's memorandum of the 7th of March, by other suggestions he offered to ministers with rare brevity, clearness, and precision, and by the concurring opinions of the best officers in the British army. Men as well as officers, Portuguese as well

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as British, called loudly for his return to the Peninsula. In spite of the very illiberal and very unwise opposition of Lord Folkestone, and a few other individuals of that party, votes of thanks to Sir Arthur, and a resolution in approbation of the gallant conduct of the non-commissioned officers and privates who had fought at Roliça and Vimeiro, were passed by both Houses in the month of February. Towards the end of March, Sir Arthur Wellesley, having previously resigned his office of secretary for Ireland, as well as his seat in parliament, and having taken a long farewell of home politics, accepted the chief command of the British forces in the Peninsula. On the 15th of April he set sail from Portsmouth for Lisbon in the 'Surveillante' frigate, which was very nearly lost in a storm at the back of the Isle of Wight, the night after she quitted Spithead.* On the 22nd of April he arrived safely at Lisbon, and took the command of the army, which had now been left for some time in the hands of Sir J. Cradock.

Soult, after the capitulation of the Spaniards at Coruña, had obtained easy possession of Ferrol, Bilbao, and all the most important places on the northern coast of Spain. Then he had proceeded towards Portugal, and, having entered that country by Braga, he had taken possession of Oporto on the 29th of March, after a spiritless resistance of only two days. Upon the rapid advance of Soult Sir J. Cradock had concentrated his forces for the defence of Lisbon. There were other discouraging circumstances: the French had reduced many towns and districts on the east of the Ebro; Zaragoza, a second time besieged, was not so valorous or so fortunate as in 1808, but had been obliged to surrender at discretion on the 14th of February; and, what was gloomiest of all, the Spaniards at Madrid, and in many other large cities and districts, seemed to be quietly resigning themselves to the dominion of King Joseph. Still, however, there were some brighter glimpses—some few indications of Spanish patriotism and resolution: for no sooner had

* Note by Colonel Gurwood, in Dispatches.

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Soult evacuated Galicia than the people rose in arms, and several places in the Asturias and in the Biscayan provinces had been re-taken by the patriots. Moreover, in Portugal, a body of regulars had been admirably disciplined in the English manner by General Beresford, to whom the Prince Regent of Portugal had given the chief command of all his troops. Beresford's Portuguese, being added to the British reinforcements, enabled Sir Arthur to take the field with an army of about 25,000 men. His first business was to dislodge Soult from Oporto; and to this end, and after leaving a division on the Tagus to guard the eastern frontiers against the French division or corps of Victor, stationed in Spanish Estremadura, he quitted Lisbon, on the 28th of April, for Coimbra. Having collected his forces at Coimbra, he moved, on the 9th of May, in the direction of Oporto, driving back all the French who had advanced south of the Douro. By the 11th he occupied the southern bank of that river opposite the town of Oporto. The French had destroyed the bridges and removed the boats to their own side; and Soult was preparing to retire leisurely by the road to Galicia. But Wellesley determined that the Marshal's retreat should not be quite so comfortable: he sent General Murray with a brigade to pass the Douro, about four miles above Oporto, whilst the brigade of guards was directed to cross the river at the suburb of Villanova, and the main body, under Wellesley's own eye, was to attempt a passage in the centre, by means of any boats that they could find, just above the town. These movements were executed with rare rapidity and precision; and part of the British troops entered into the city, charging the French through the streets. Soult instantly ordered a retreat, which was effected in the utmost confusion; he left behind his sick and wounded and many prisoners, besides artillery and ammunition.

Thus the fair city of Oporto was left in possession of the British. The passage of the broad and rapid Douro, effected in broad day, with most defective means of transport, and in presence of a French marshal at the

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head of 10,000 veterans, has been considered one of Wellington's finest achievements. He had lost only 23 killed and 98 wounded. Soult's loss was very large, and the sick and wounded he left in Oporto amounted to 700. On taking possession of Oporto, General Wellesley issued a very necessary proclamation, strictly enjoining the inhabitants to respect the French wounded and prisoners.

On the evening of the 16th of May Soult was overtaken on the road near Salamonde by Sir Arthur, who cut up his rear-guard and took some prisoners. "We should have had the whole of Soult's rear-guard," says Sir Arthur, "if we had but had half an hour more daylight . . . . . He has lost everything—cannon, ammunition, baggage, military chest; and his retreat is, in every respect, even in weather, a *pendant* for the retreat of Coruña." Thus speedily was Sir John Moore avenged on the French marshal who had pursued him. Soult, like Moore, had to retire through a mountainous country: he left the road strewed with dead horses and mules, and with the bodies of French soldiers, who were put to death by the peasantry before the advanced guard of the British could come up and save them. The French, by their own conduct, had provoked this merciless retaliation. The same horrible scenes occurred in all the subsequent retrograde movements of the French: the blessed fountains of mercy were dried up in the invaders and in the invaded. With troops that carried with them over the roughest roads artillery, baggage, and full equipments, Sir Arthur could not hope to come up with Soult with an army that had lightened itself by throwing away everything, and that depended for its provisions on plunder. He stopped his pursuit at Montealegre, a few leagues from the frontier of Spain, across which the French fled in irremediable disorder—in a state so crippled that they could do no harm, and might have been destroyed by Romana, if that general had had any force at all. But Romana, who ought to have met Soult on the borders of Galicia, was again "nowhere."

The advanced guard of the British army entered Spain

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by Zarza-la-Mayor on the 2nd of July; and on the 8th Sir Arthur's head-quarters were at Plasencia. The history of these Spanish campaigns does not admit of abridgment. We can do little more than name the principal battles which were fought. Sir Arthur immediately found, as Sir John Moore had done, that the Spanish generals were never to be depended upon—that provisions and forage were rarely to be procured. Sir Robert Wilson was detached with the Lusitanian Legion, some Portuguese Caçadores, and two Spanish battalions in the direction of Madrid; and notwithstanding the immensity of the French force which might have been brought upon him, Sir Robert, by wonderful marches, succeeded in getting in Marshal Victor's rear, and in reaching Escalona, which is only eight leagues from the Spanish capital. These movements terrified Joseph, and gave great encouragement to the Spanish guerrillas. On the 22nd of July, the combined armies of Sir Arthur Wellesley and Cuesta attacked Victor's outposts at Talavera, and drove them in. On the 23rd the British columns were again formed for the attack of the French position, as Sir Arthur wished to beat Victor before he should be joined by Sebastiani, who was coming up from La Mancha; but old Cuesta was whimsical and perverse, and would not fight that day. At the midnight hour Marshal Victor retreated, in order to form the junction with Sebastiani. When Sir Arthur halted the British troops at Talavera, Cuesta seemed all of a sudden to be invaded by an irrepressible energy and activity; and, with remarkable arrogance, he singly dashed forward in pursuit of the French. He was soundly beaten at Torrijos on the 26th by Victor's rear-guard. Having been joined not only by Sebastiani, but also by King Joseph and Marshal Jourdan, who brought with them the guards and the garrison of Madrid, Victor retraced his steps, and on the 27th attacked two advanced British brigades, which fell steadily back across the plain into their assigned positions in the line. This was about two o'clock in the afternoon; but the terrible battle of Talavera did not begin in earnest until it was dark—a darkness illu-

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minated only by the flames from the cannon's mouth and the blaze of musketry :—

"Darkling they fight, and only know
If chance has sped the fatal blow
Or by the trodden corse below,
Or by the dying groan:
Furious they strike without a mark,
Save now and then the sulphurous spark
Illumes some visage grim and dark,
That with the flash is gone!"*

In the end the French were thoroughly discomfited. The British, reduced to less than 14,000 men, and exhausted by fatigue, were unable to pursue the enemy, and Cuesta's Spaniards, who had scarcely been engaged at all, were incapable of making any evolution. The combat which began at night was not decided until the following evening. Talavera was a double battle. Out of the 50,000 men, which they had on the field at the beginning of the combat, the French had lost 7000 in killed and wounded, an immense number of officers and two generals being among the killed. Out of the less than 20,000 British, 857 had been killed and 3913 wounded; 653 were reported missing; and two general officers, Major-General Mackenzie and Brigadier-General Langworth, were among the slain. The French also lost a considerable number of men as prisoners, and as they retired they left in the hands of the English seventeen pieces of artillery, with tumbrils and ammunition complete. Except at Albuera, the French never again fought so well throughout the rest of this war; and yet France confessed, in a hurried night-retreat, that she had been beaten and humiliated:—

"Far from the field where late she fought—
The tents where late she lay—
With rapid step and humbled thought
All night she holds her way;

* *The battles of Talavera, a Poem*, 1809 (now we believe the avowed production of the Right Hon. John Wilson Croker).

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Leaving to Britain's conquering sons
Standards rent and ponderous guns,
The trophies of the fray;
The weak, the wounded, and the slain,
The triumph of the battle-plain,
The glory of the day."*

In the course of the 29th of July, General Robert Craufurd reached Sir Arthur Wellesley's camp from Lisbon, with the 43rd, 52nd, and 95th (rifles). The reinforcement altogether amounted to nearly 3000 men. This was the light brigade, which was ever after in advance during the Peninsular campaigns, and which acquired military celebrity for its gallantry and quickness of movement.† But army upon army was gathering round the British. On the evening of the 3rd of August, Sir Arthur learned at Oropesa that Soult's advanced posts were at Naval-Moral, and consequently between him and the bridge of Almaraz, on the Tagus, thus cutting the line of communication with Portugal. The English general was now placed between the mountains and the Tagus, with a French army advancing upon each flank, and with his retreat by the bridge at Almaraz completely cut off: after the experience he had had of Cuesta and the Spanish army, he could not rely upon them in an open field of battle, and he could not, with 17,000 British, fatigued and famishing, hope to fight successively two French armies, each nearly three times stronger than his own. But there was still one—and only one—line of retreat left open to the British, for, a little below Talavera, the Tagus was crossed by the bridge of Arzobispo; and by this route, and by this

* Battles of Talavera.—General Sarrazin, who, like a good Frenchman, does not like to confess too much, confesses that "the bloody day (*la sanglante journée*) of Talavera had spread terror in the French army (*avait repandu l'effroi dans l'armée Française*)."

† André Vieusseux, Military Life of the Duke of Wellington. The author of this admirable, brief, and correct compendium served for some time in the Peninsula, with the light brigade.

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bridge, Sir Arthur determined to retire immediately, before the enemy should have time to intercept him. It was a blessing that the Spaniards, who generally destroyed what they ought to have left standing, and left standing what they ought to have destroyed, had not blown up the bridge! The 2000 wounded, the artillery, the stores, were all carried safely over the Tagus; before evening the general took up an excellent position behind the right bank of that river; and then the British army was safe.

By the 2nd of September Sir Arthur had his head-quarters at Badajoz, close on the frontiers of Portugal; and in a day or two a part of his army was sent across the frontier, and his sick and wounded were conveyed to the strongly fortified Portuguese town of Elvas.

Soult's army now went into cantonments in Estremadura and Leon, near the borders of Portugal; Joseph Bonaparte had got back to Madrid as soon as it had been possible or safe to do so; French moveable columns, not unlike the infernal columns which had formerly traversed the Vendée, now traversed various parts of Spain; the irregular guerrilla warfare was carried on in many distant provinces and districts; some towns on the eastern coast, in Catalonia and Valencia, were taken by the French, while others held out, costing the besiegers an enormous sacrifice of life; but, from the middle of August till the middle of November, no actions took place in the field, of any importance, on the part of any of the scattered Spanish armies; nor was the repose of the British forces very materially interrupted until the month of May, 1810.

But, on the 19th of November, the army of Andalusia —the largest that the junta had hitherto sent into the field—was destroyed by Mortier and Sebastiani in the battle of Ocaña; and this defeat drew after it the destruction of the army of the Duque del Parque, at Alba de Tormes, on the 28th of November. These reverses were entirely owing to the ignorance, presumption, and mismanagement of the Spanish generals.

On the 4th of September, almost as soon as the new-

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of his remarkable battle reached England, Sir Arthur was raised to the peerage with the titles of Baron Douro of Wellesley and Viscount Wellington of Talavera. He had now placed his army in cantonments on the line of the Guadiana, to cover Portugal from Soult.

The declaration of war by Austria against France—which would not have been made at that moment without English encouragement and promises of aid—bound our government to attempt two great diversions (in addition to the war we were carrying on in the Spanish Peninsula, and which gave occupation to 200,000 French) in two very opposite parts of Europe,—in Holland and in the south of Italy. From the beginning of the month of May preparations were made for fitting out one of the greatest armaments that had ever issued from the ports of Great Britain; and by the end of July an army of 40,000 men was collected, and a fleet of thirty-seven sail of the line, two 50-gun ships, three of 44 guns, twenty-three frigates, thirty-one ship and brig sloops, five bomb-vessels, twenty-three gun-brigs, and about one hundred and twenty sail of hired cutters, tenders, gun-boats, &c.—in all two hundred and forty-five vessels of war—accompanied by about four hundred sail of transports, was ready to convey, and co-operate with, the army. Unfortunately the destination of this mighty armament could not possibly be concealed from the French, or from any other people that knew what was, and had long been, in progress on the Scheldt. Not even Nelson and Trafalgar had made Bonaparte despair of disputing the sovereignty of the seas and invading England. Ever since the spring of 1807 formidable naval preparations had been carried on by France in those waters. By the spring of the present year ten 74-gun ships were at anchor near the Calot Sand; nine ships of the line were on the stocks at Antwerp, most of them ready to be launched, and at the same place the keels of nineteen ships of war, large and small, were laid, while on the stocks at Flushing there were one 74 and three smaller vessels. Besides these there were, at Flushing, at Antwerp, and in the Texel, several sail of the line actually ready for sea.

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Ministers made an unfortunate selection of commanders for this expedition: the Earl of Chatham, to whom they gave the supreme command of the land forces, had scarcely anything to recommend him except his being an amiable man, and connected with great men; and as for Rear-Admiral Sir Richard John Strachan, it would be committing an injustice to the navy not to say that there were fifty officers, even among those who had the requisites of professional rank or grade, fitter than he for the command of the fleet.

On the 28th of July the Grand Armada—for such it might be called—set sail from the Downs. In the course of the following day, it was nearly all collected on the Dutch coast; and then began the differences of opinion, and the discoveries that the fleet was not sufficiently provided with boats for landing the troops, ordnance, &c. The wiser part of the officers were for going on to Antwerp at once (Antwerp was not forty-five miles distant), to try a *coup de main* before the place should be put in a full state of defence; but the less wise were for beginning with Flushing; and this last opinion prevailed. Flushing, whose importance, as compared with Antwerp, was as ten to a thousand, was invested on the 1st or 2nd of August; but so slow were our incapable commanders that nearly a fortnight elapsed before they got their batteries all ready, and began their bombardment in earnest. They began to bombard hotly on the 13th; and on the 15th, General Mounet, who commanded the garrison of Flushing, requested a suspension of hostilities. On the following evening the articles of capitulation were signed; and the garrison, amounting to about 6000 men, laid down their arms in front of the place. The ships that were afloat had fled at the approach of the English; those that were on the stocks, or in dock, were secured. The reduction of Flushing was the virtual termination of the campaign. On the 21st, and not sooner, the *late* Lord Chatham removed his head-quarters from Flushing to Veere; and on the 23rd he went to Ter Goes, on the contiguous island of South Beveland, and talked solemnly of going

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to Antwerp. But before he could get there he must reduce Lillo and Liefkenshoeck, places strong of old, and of late years made much stronger. A great many batteries had been erected during the fortnight and more that he had been pottering at Flushing. And while he paused and pondered for nearly another fortnight, Marshal Bernadotte arrived at Antwerp, and from 40,000 to 50,000 regular troops, French, Dutch, and Germans, were collected in that neighbourhood, together with hosts of militia both from Belgium and from Holland. Add to all this, that 10,000 of the British troops had been left behind to keep possession of the Island of Walcheren; that 3000 were on the sick list; that nearly all the provisions brought from England were eaten up; that the country we had seized could supply next to nothing; and we need not be surprised that a council of war, called together by the Earl of Chatham, on the 27th of August, should be decidedly of opinion "that it was not advisable to undertake further operations."

By the 4th of September every part of Zealand was evacuated by the English, except the island of Walcheren. On the 14th of September, Earl Chatham embarked for England with the greater part of the army, leaving Sir Eyre Coote to hold the command of the remainder, and to keep possession of Walcheren, for the purpose of blocking up the Scheldt, stopping the egress of the Batavo-Gallic fleet, and keeping open an inlet for the trade of Great Britain into Holland! Before the Earl of Chatham took his final departure, 8000 men were on the sick list. And he had not been gone long when all the force he had left under Sir Eyre Coote began to disappear with alarming rapidity in the hospitals or in the grave. England considered herself bound to retain possession so long as it could be of any use to our unlucky ally; and the Emperor of Austria solicited us to continue our operations in Holland down to the moment, and apparently even past the time, when, beaten again, and again losing all heart, he prostrated himself at his conqueror's feet. Dearly as it cost us, our

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occupation of Walcheren cost Bonaparte many exertions as well as anxieties. But at last, on the 13th of November, which was a month all but two days after the Emperor Francis had signed his degrading treaty of peace with the Emperor Napoleon in Vienna, his capital, orders were dispatched to Lieutenant-General Don, who had succeeded Sir Eyre Coote in the command, to evacuate Flushing, and take such measures as he might judge most effective for the destruction of the basin and of the naval defences of the island. The piers of the flood-gate of the basin at Flushing were blown up with gunpowder; the strong and costly pile-work on the east side was destroyed; the arsenal and magazines in Bonaparte's new dockyard were burned; but very little was done to damage the land fortifications of the place, lest the houses and property of the townspeople should be injured by the explosion. The 6000 prisoners who surrendered in Flushing had been shipped off for England long ago. The ships on the stocks were destroyed; but one fine new frigate was brought away, as were also the timbers of a 74 which, being put together at Woolwich, produced in 1812 a good ship, which was called the Chatham, to preserve, we suppose, the memory of that earl's Walcheren exploits. These things and the fever were about all we brought back from this expedition which cost us many thousands of lives, and many millions of money.

Our diversion on the side of Italy cost no such enormous sacrifices, and yet it too was attended with some advantages to our allies, for it tended to deprive Bonaparte of the services on the Danube of his most brilliant and best cavalry general, his brother-in-law, Joachim Murat, by virtue of Bayonne decrees now King of Naples. Our movements, moreover, along the whole extent of the Neapolitan coasts obliged Murat to reinforce his army in Calabria, to wear it out with long marches hither and thither, as the danger seemed more imminent on this point or on that, and to keep on the shores of the Mediterranean and Adriatic both French and Italian troops which would otherwise have been employed

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against the Austrians in Upper Italy, and in the Tyrol or the Illyrian provinces. It is true that with all these stoppages Bonaparte contrived to beat the Emperor Francis, but his work would have been much easier and more speedy if even this our Italian diversion had not been made.

The crowned dragooner had signalised his accession to the Neapolitan Bourbon throne, on his arrival at Naples, by recovering from the English possession of the isle of Capri. Murat also recovered almost immediately several places in Calabria, and among them the rock, town, and castle of Scylla, which in the course of two years had changed masters three or four times.

But it was easier to take old castles and irregularly fortified towns than to subdue the fierce spirit of the Calabrian people. Bands of insurgents—all called by the French brigands or banditti—still kept the field, or lurked in the mountains and among the forests. As soon as one redoubtable chief was captured or killed, another sprang up to supply his place and avenge his fall. When the new war in Germany became known, and when intelligence reached the southern extremity of the peninsula, that the Austrians had beaten Eugene Beauharnais in the north of Italy, and had compelled the French to retire behind the Adige, the Calabrians were highly excited.

On the 11th of June Sir John Stuart, the hero of Maida, and now commander-in-chief of our forces in Sicily, embarked with 15,000 British troops. On the 13th his appearance induced the enemy to abandon the greater part of their posts along the shore of Calabria Ulteriore; and the posts and works upon the line opposite to Messina, from which the French had long been threatening Sicily with invasion, were seized and destroyed by Lieutenant-Colonel Smith. Arms and ammunition were landed and sent up the country for the use of the insurgents, who took possession of some of the mountain passes, where they did great mischief to Murat's army, and who recovered several towns in the interior of the country, where they took sanguinary vengeance on

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the French, and their partisans and abettors. Two smaller expeditions, issuing from the port of Messina, landed 400 or 500 Sicilian soldiers and Calabrian refugees in the Gulf of Gioia, and 2000 or 3000 soldiers, regular and irregular, between Reggio and Palmi. A portion of these forces, assisted by a few of our troops, undertook the siege of Scylla; the rest carried on a loose guerrilla warfare, which cost Murat rather dear. At the same time flotillas of English and Sicilian gun-boats and other armed vessels ran along and scoured all the coasts of Calabria from the promontory of Scylla to the edge of the Gulf of Salerno, and from Reggio to the head of the Gulf of Taranto, operating simultaneously in the Tyrrhenian and in the Ionian seas, threatening a dozen places in one day, capturing or destroying many of these places, making the French generals hurry now hither now thither, and spreading consternation in every town and station on both sea-boards.

In the mean while Sir John Stuart, having been joined by some Sicilian forces, which embarked at Palermo, nominally under the command of King Ferdinand's second son, Don Leopold, Prince of Salerno, had made straight for the bay of Naples, to menace the capital, and seize some of the islands in its immediate neighbourhood. Nothing would have been more easy than to bombard Naples and batter it to pieces; nor would it have been a work of great difficulty with 15,000 British troops to have landed and driven Murat out of that city, for he had only some 11,000 or 12,000 regular troops collected there, and of these the greater part were Neapolitans, whose discipline was incomplete, and whose fidelity and courage were both exceedingly doubtful. But to destroy the city under the eye of the son of the old king would have been a particularly revolting act; and, though 15,000 British troops might have taken, they could not have kept Naples in the case of the French beating the Austrians in Upper Italy; and several weeks before the arrival of our armament at Cape Miseno, the Archduke John, though not beaten by the French, had been compelled, by the reverses of the

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Austrian armies in other quarters, to abandon Upper Italy altogether. Besides, Sir John Stuart's plan was merely to create and keep up an alarm, and "to make such a movement, as, although it should produce no issue of achievement to ourselves, might still operate a diversion in favour of our Austrian allies." And a considerable body of troops, which Murat had recently detached from Naples as a reinforcement to Eugene Beauharnais, as well as almost the whole of a corps of 6000 men which he had sent into the Roman States to complete the seizure of the Papal dominions, which his brother-in-law Napoleon had ordered, were precipitately recalled on the first appearance of our armament on the coast. On the 25th of June 2300 men, including some Sicilian light infantry, a regiment of Corsican rangers, and a detachment of Calabrian Free Corps, were landed under the command of Major-General Mac Farlane, in the island of Ischia. A chain of batteries, which the French had erected to fortify every accessible part of the shore, was easily turned; and then the batteries were successively abandoned. The castle, which is situated on the summit of a steep detached rock, surrendered upon terms of capitulation. The small but thickly-peopled island of Procida, close to Ischia, surrendered at the first summons; and this event contributed to the almost entire capture or destruction of a very large flotilla of heavy gun-boats. The two islands thus captured with hardly any loss, are among the most beautiful and productive of all the islands that lie close in to the coast of Italy.

But no permanent occupation had ever been contemplated; and, as it became evident that no diversion of ours could save Austria from her fate, Sir John Stuart dismantled the castles of Ischia and Procida, destroyed the batteries and all the other works, re-embarked his troops, and returned to Sicily.

While the French were alarmed, and fully occupied in the south of Italy, Admiral Lord Collingwood, who still retained the command-in-chief of our Mediterranean fleet—wearing out in hard service the last days of an honourable and most valuable life—recommended General Sir John Stuart to send an expedition against the islands

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of Zante, Corfu, and Cephalonia, which lie opposite to the Neapolitan coast, at the mouth of the Adriatic, and which, partly by force, and partly by an amicable understanding with the Tzar Alexander, had been seized and occupied by the French, who were also looking forward to conquests or occupations in the Morea, and in other parts of continental Greece.

The expedition was undertaken with such secrecy, that none of the people knew whither they were going. It was very successful. On the 2nd of October the French commandant surrendered to Brigadier-General Oswald not only the whole of the island of Zante, but also the islands of Cephalonia, Ithaca, and Cerigo. The island of Santa Maura was reduced in the month of April, 1810; but Corfu remained in the hands of the French until the downfall of Bonaparte in 1814.

Our government had not even yet recovered from its delusion about the value of countless sugar-islands and West Indian colonies, nor opened its eyes to the sacrifice of capital and of human life contingent on these conquests and occupations. In 1807 we had taken the Danish West India islands of St. Thomas, St. John, and St. Croix; in 1808 we had captured the French West India islands of Mariegalante and Deseada; and in the course of the present year we took possession of the French West India colonies of Cayenne and Martinique, as well as of a part of Spanish San Domingo, of which the French had gained possession. These petty, insecure, and costly conquests were also extended to the African coast, where we took Senegal from the French.

Austria had made astonishing exertions, and raised her armies to more than 400,000 men. The Archduke Charles commanded the army of Germany, the Archduke John the army of Italy. Bonaparte, by one of his rapid and skilful manœuvres, broke the line of the Austrians, gained the battle of Eckmühl, and obliged the Archduke Charles to retire into Bohemia. On the 12th of May the French entered Vienna. The Archduke Charles now collected his army on the left bank of the Danube; Bonaparte crossed the river to attack him, and

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the great battle of Aspern took place on the 21st of May. The battle remained undecided; but on the following day it was renewed with fury on both sides, when, in the midst of the action, Bonaparte was informed that the bridge in his rear, which communicated with the right bank of the Danube, had been carried off by a flood. Upon this he ordered a retreat, and withdrew his army into the island of Lobau, in the middle of the Danube. The loss of the French in killed and wounded was very great: Marshal Lannes, Duke of Montebello, finished his earthly career at Aspern; Generals Espagne and Saint Hilaire were also among the slain; and an immense number of field-officers perished on the field or died of their wounds on the isle of Lobau. The visible discouragement of the men was good evidence that Aspern had in fact been a defeat to the French. Bonaparte remained six weeks on the island of Lobau. Having re-established the bridge, and received reinforcements, he once more crossed over to the left bank of the Danube, and fought the battle of Wagram (6th of July), in which he defeated the Austrians: the loss on both sides was tremendous. Still the Austrian army was not destroyed or dispersed, and the Archduke Charles was for continuing the struggle. Other counsels, however, prevailed, and an armistice was concluded at Znaym, and this led to the peace of Schönbrunn, which was not signed, however, till the 14th of October. Napoleon had entertained some idea of dismembering the Austrian empire; he had even addressed an invitation to the Hungarians to form an independent kingdom under a native ruler; but this address produced no effect. Germany began to be agitated by a spirit of popular resistance against him; bands of partisans under Schill, the Duke of Brunswick, and others, had appeared; the Tyrol was still in arms, and he was not quite sure of Russia. The war in Spain continued with dubious success, and the English had landed at Flushing. He thought best, therefore, to grant peace to Austria on moderate conditions. Austria ceded Trieste, Carniola, and part of Croatia, Salzburg, Cracow, and Western Gallicia, and several other districts, to the amount of about two mil-

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lions and a half of inhabitants. The brave Tyrolese were abandoned to their fate. Hofer and others of their chiefs were seized by the French, taken to Mantua, and there shot. The Austrians, moreover, were bound to pay into the French exchequer, as expenses of war, seventy-five millions of francs.

It was from the palace of Schönbrunn that Bonaparte aimed his last thunderbolt at the head of the Pope. In May, 1808, he had annexed, *for ever*, the best part of the Papal dominions to the mock kingdom of Italy; and his own generals and the Roman revolutionary party—about the most savage, atheistical, and intolerant of all the reformers of that day—had constituted Pius VII. a prisoner in the Vatican. At midnight the palace was surrounded by French troops and gendarmes; the walls were scaled, the inner doors were broken open; and between two and three o'clock on the morning of the 6th of July, the aged Pontiff was seized and carried off a prisoner to France.

The untoward course of events on the Continent, the disastrous issue of the Austrian war, together with sundry other causes, produced violent dissensions in the British ministry, in a part of which there had never been much harmony. It is a capital defect in the construction of our cabinet, which confides the direction of war not to one, but to two ministers, the secretary of state for foreign affairs having nearly as much authority over generals in the field as the secretary-at-war. There had long been a jealousy or a strong divergency of opinion between Mr. Canning the secretary of state for foreign affairs, and Lord Castlereagh the secretary-at-war. What one proposed in the cabinet the other almost invariably condemned; and each was constantly complaining of an invasion of his official authority by the other. On the 21st of September, when the country was resounding with outcries against the Walcheren expedition, the management of which was said to be disapproved of by the secretary for foreign affairs, a duel was fought between him and Lord Castlereagh. Mr. Canning was wounded below the thigh-bone, and Lord Castlereagh had a narrow escape. The two ministers had sent in their resignations before

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they went to Putney Heath. The Duke of Portland, the head of the cabinet (who was not altogether blameless as to the causes which had led to the quarrel), also resigned, and died a few days thereafter.

The ministers that remained in office after these three resignations—with Lord Liverpool, the only remaining secretary of state, who had for some time to perform the duty of the home office, the foreign office, and the war office—were reduced almost to despair, scarcely knowing where to look for a new head and for two new colleagues. Their situation appeared at first so forlorn, that (on the 23rd of September) official letters were addressed to Earl Grey, the now leader of the Foxite Whigs, and to Lord Grenville, informing them that his majesty had authorized Lord Liverpool and Mr. Perceval to communicate with their lordships for the purpose of forming an extended and combined administration. To this invitation Earl Grey, who was in Northumberland, replied at once that he would not enter into any coalition with the ministers now in place. Lord Grenville, who was in Cornwall, replied that he would lose no time in repairing to town, and begged leave to defer all observations till his arrival. The day after his arrival in town he sent an answer conformable to that of Earl Grey.

Great hopes were now entertained by the adverse party that the ministry would fall to pieces altogether. It was said, as on some former occasions, that high offices and places went a-begging, and that none could be found to accept them. The only hope of the ministry now rested upon the Marquess Wellesley. Hints were thrown out that the marquess would not join any administration in which Mr. Canning was not included. But the marquess came home from Spain, being succeeded in his embassy by his brother Henry, and accepted, not the war department, which Canning had destined for him, but the office of foreign affairs, which Canning himself had vacated. Early in December the ministerial arrangements were completed, Mr. Perceval taking the place of the deceased premier the Duke of Portland, thus uniting in himself, as Mr. Pitt and Mr. Addington had

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done before him, the offices of first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer. The loss of the Duke of Portland was little more than that of a name; but the loss of the eloquent pen and the still more eloquent tongue of Canning—the best debater, and on the whole perhaps the greatest orator now in parliament—was a most serious loss; and the secession of Mr. Huskisson, who resigned his seat at the treasury, was also felt and regretted. As if his previous domestic employment had particularly qualified him for the war department, the Earl of Liverpool was transferred from the home office to the office which Lord Castlereagh had quitted, becoming secretary of state for the department of war and the colonies, and being succeeded in the home office by the Hon. R. Ryder. Lord Palmerston became under-secretary-at-war in lieu of Sir James Pulteney. These were all the changes that were made.

A.D. 1810.—The session opened on the 23rd of January. The king's speech was again delivered by commission. It had cost ministers no small pains to draw it up, for, after the battle of Talavera, there were few subjects for congratulation. Amendments, strongly condemning the ministerial direction of the whole war, and particularly the Walcheren expedition, were moved in both Houses, but were rejected by great majorities.

By the publication of a libel against the House of Commons, and of a passionate and dangerous appeal from the authority of parliament to the excited people, Sir Francis Burdett incurred the displeasure of the House; and on the 5th of April it was carried by a majority of 38 that he should be committed to the Tower under the warrant of the Speaker. Sir Francis shut himself up in his mansion in Piccadilly, barring his doors and windows, and declaring that he would yield only to force. This led to a lamentable popular riot, in the course of which two men were killed and several more wounded. Since the No-Popery riots London had seen no such commotion as this, and since the days of John Wilkes no such idol as Sir Francis Burdett. The French newspapers announced that it was a revolution. But the end of it all

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was that the baronet was lodged in the Tower and kept there until the prorogation.

The supplies voted for the year amounted to 52,185,000*l.*, of which the Irish proportion was 6,106,000*l.* The ways and means, which it was calculated would leave a surplus of 141,200*l.*, included a loan of 8,000,000*l.*, which was negotiated on terms even more moderate than those of the preceding year. No new taxes were proposed; and a favourable report was made of the commerce and general prosperity of the country. At the same time Mr. Perceval drew a striking picture of the state of commercial affairs in France, and of the effects produced by our orders in council. The orders in council had not done all the mischief to the enemy; but Bonaparte's war system and the working out of his "continental system" together had contributed to destroy nearly all foreign trade in France and its dependencies.

A scheme for parliamentary reform, brought forward by Mr. Brand, was rejected by 234 against 115. The debate was chiefly remarkable on account of the strong opinions pronounced against radical reform by the moderate reform party, and on account of some very enthusiastic declarations in favour of the transatlantic republican system. The session of parliament terminated on the 21st of June.

At the beginning of the year the aspect of affairs in the Peninsula was far from bright. In the autumn of the preceding year, besides the defeats which we have enumerated, the Spaniards had sustained several signal overthrows. But the way in which the Spaniards had defended the old walls of Gerona gave better hopes; for, though that place had surrendered on the 10th of December, it had only yielded to famine after a six months' siege: though rent with three wide breaches, it had constantly repulsed its assailants, and had caused them a terrible loss; nor did those staunch Spaniards think they were starving until they had eaten up all their horses and mules.

Towards the close of 1809 Marshal Soult had been

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appointed chief of the staff and principal military adviser to King Joseph in the place of Jourdan, who was recalled to Paris. It was the fate of all these marshals to be dissatisfied with the service, and to cause great disappointment and dissatisfaction to their emperor, in whose bosom, however, these unpleasant feelings continued to be mitigated by the opportunity afforded him of saying, "I cannot be everywhere," and of showing to the French people how much their glory and success depended upon him personally. Soult, however, commenced operations with vigour and with a unity of plan. Taking with him King Joseph, who could scarcely have been safe without him, the ablest of the French marshals marched upon the Sierra Morena with the determination of crossing those mountains and subduing Andalusia, together with all that country of the south which had not yet been touched by the French arms.

As usual with them, the fugitive Spanish generals and the wandering junta seem to have taken no thought of what they were leaving behind them, provided only it was not coined money. As the French advanced from town to town, they found and collected large quantities of ordnance and military stores, which had come principally from England, and which any people but the Spaniards would have removed. The citizens of Seville had talked highly about defending their fine old town; but the city was too vast to be converted into a fortress, no preparations had been made, the assistance of British troops had been refused by the late junta, and so Soult entered Seville not only without opposition, but in a kind of triumph. For some time the head-quarters and the court of King Joseph were established in Seville. But Marshal Victor was hurried on to Cadiz, in the hope that he might make sure of that most important city. Although every man seemed required for the defence of Portugal, Lord Wellington had previously dispatched three British and one Portuguese regiment for the defence of Cadiz. Other British forces, together with a fragment of the Spanish army which had escaped from the field of Ocaña, were brought down from Gibraltar,

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and other small corps were brought in from various places; so that it was calculated that there were 18,000 Spanish troops for the defence of Cadiz and the Isla de Leon, besides the volunteers of the town and the British and Portuguese troops. The number of British alone soon amounted to 6000 men; and Lieutenant-General Graham, one of the bravest and best of our officers, was sent out from England to take the command of them. Both Soult and Joseph came down to the coast; and, by the 15th of February, the French army, which occupied the neighbouring country from Rota to Chiclana, was estimated at 25,000 men. The siege or blockade of Cadiz lasted more than thirty months, or from the 5th of February, 1810, to the 12th of August, 1812, when it was finally raised in consequence of the successive advantages gained by Wellington. In strictness of language it could neither be called a siege nor a blockade; but it gave constant occupation to French forces varying from 25,000 to 15,000 men, and it led to no inconsiderable loss, in detail.

The two other *corps d'armée* which Soult had sent to the south-eastern coast encountered but few obstacles. Nearly the whole of Andalusia was overrun. Sebastiani entered Granada without resistance, and carried the old Moorish town of Alaha by storm. But in all the mountains which traverse or hem in the great country of Andalusia the entire population was in arms, causing constant trouble and frequent loss.

In Catalonia, O'Donnell, the best of the Spanish generals, kept up a more regular system of warfare against the French, being assisted by the nature of the ground, which was interspersed with numerous strong positions, and dotted by a good many fortresses, and also by the English squadron along the coast, and by the organization and daring spirit of the Catalonian militia, known by the name of Somatenes and Miguelets.

But all eyes were now fixed upon Portugal, and upon the British army there, for it was known that the great effort of the campaign on the part of the French would be made in that direction The peace with Austria had

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enabled Bonaparte to send large reinforcements from Germany into Spain. During the winter Junot and Drouet had crossed the Pyrenees with two fresh corps; they were followed by a part of the imperial guards, and it was rumoured that the emperor himself was coming. By the beginning of the month of April, Ney, Kellermann, and Loison, with about 60,000 men, were in Old Castile and Leon, threatening the Portuguese frontier in that direction; and, as a prelude, they had besieged and taken Astorga, and had made their preparations for the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo. At the same time General Regnier was on the borders of Spanish Estremadura with about 12,000 men, menacing the frontier of Portugal on that side. Bonaparte, in the honeymoon of his marriage with the imperial Austrian, did not come, but he sent Marshal Massena, Prince of Essling, to take the command of the army in Old Castile and Leon, which now assumed the name of "the Army of Portugal." Massena had obtained the name of the darling child of Victory; Massena, from his earliest essays as a commander in the Maritime Alps and the Apennines, had been accustomed to mountain warfare; Massena, though with an evident injustice to Soult, was considered the greatest general and strategist next to Bonaparte himself; so, assuredly, with superior forces, Massena could not fail in executing his emperor's commission, which was simply this—to drive the English leopards and the sepoy-general into the sea. Massena himself had no doubt as to his success, for on quitting Paris he had said that he only required three months to replace the eagles of the emperor on the walls of Lisbon. He arrived at Valladolid about the middle of May, and assumed the command not only over the corps of Ney, Kellermann, and Loison, but also over those of Junot and Drouet. Massena had from 60,000 to 62,000 men when he first put himself in motion to meet Lord Wellington, and he was afterwards reinforced. His lordship had only about 24,000 British troops, and from 28,000 to 30,000 Portuguese regulars. Early in June Massena commenced operations in earnest by investing Ciudad Rodrigo close on the Portuguese frontier.

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The Spanish garrison defended itself bravely till the 10th of July, when, a practicable breach being made, the French entered the place by capitulation. As the corps of Marshal Ney came thundering on after the fall of Ciudad Rodrigo, it came in contact with our light division, which was commanded by General Craufurd, a very brave and an able man, but somewhat hot-headed and self-willed. Instead of falling in quietly and easily, as he had been ordered to do, Craufurd, eager for fame, halted repeatedly, and disputed the ground against a much superior force: he finished by effecting his retreat in a masterly manner by a bridge across the Coa, by repulsing the French in their attempt to follow him, and by costing Ney 1000 men in killed and wounded. But Craufurd himself suffered considerable loss, and Wellington could ill bear any useless reduction of his small British force. This fighting, however, gave Massena a specimen of the resistance he was likely to encounter in his march to Lisbon, and it delayed for a day or two some of the enemy's operations.

Marshal Massena found he could not advance quite so rapidly as he had calculated on doing. In the interval General Regnier quitted Spanish Estremadura, crossed the Tagus with his whole corps, and established himself at Coria and Plasencia; and General Hill, making a corresponding movement, had also crossed the Tagus to take post at Atalaya, from whence he could either be joined to Lord Wellington's army or could be thrown again in front of General Regnier. At last, on the 15th of August, the French broke ground before Almeida. This ancient but strongly fortified city was defended by a good Portuguese garrison, commanded by an English officer, Colonel Cox, who was prepared for a determined resistance. Lord Wellington brought his army nearer, so as to be able to strike a blow if the enemy should afford an opportunity. The French opened their fire on the 26th of August, and on the night of the 27th, in consequence of the accidental explosion of a magazine which contained nearly all the ammunition, and by which a large part of the town and defences were destroyed, the

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governor was obliged to capitulate. Lord Wellington was greatly disappointed, for he reckoned on the place detaining Massena till the rainy season set in. He seemed, however, provided for everything; and, strange to say, his famed opponent let nearly three weeks elapse after the reduction of Almeida before he seriously moved forward. This strange delay nearly brought on the rainy season, which the English general wanted, as the swelling rivers and streams, and the increasing badness of the roads, must greatly retard the march of the French columns. On the 15th of September the great French army began its march down the valley of the Mondego for Lisbon. Having called up the corps of Hill and Leith, Lord Wellington resolved to give Massena a check on "grim Busaco's iron ridge." The French made a fierce attack in the morning of the 27th, and were beaten and hurled back from the hills with terrible loss. Massena left upon the field of battle 2000 killed (killed chiefly by the bayonet), and from 3000 to 4000 wounded, besides one general and a few hundred men and officers prisoners. The loss of the allied army did not exceed 1300, of which number 578 were Portuguese,—a very convincing proof that the men whom Lord Beresford had trained had gone well into action. In truth, mixed with British troops, the Portuguese had emulated their steadiness and valour; and from the date of the battle of Busaco, Wellington knew that they were to be depended upon. The British general had no intention of remaining where he was; his place of strength, his chosen inexpugnable position, in which Portugal was to be saved, was not in the Serra de Busaco or on the Mondego, but much nearer Lisbon, and thither a good road remained open to him. By the 29th the whole allied army was in motion; and on the 30th it was collected on the left bank of the Mondego, and began its retreat towards the Tagus and the capital. The plan of defence which Wellington had formed and matured was still unbroken and entire, and so were his own hopes. He was never so confident as he was a day or two after he began this retreat. Massena followed him in one immense

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column. On the 7th of October the French van first caught sight of the chain of hills, behind which, at the distance of twenty-four miles, lay the city of Lisbon, where the marshal had promised to replace the imperial eagles. And now up, Lines of Torres Vedras, and show the lion in the middle path! *

But those lines were already up; and everything was prepared to keep the French at bay,

"As famish'd wolves survey a guarded fold." †

We have mentioned the first conception of this grand defensive scheme, which had more or less occupied the mind of Wellington ever since the campaign of 1808. It had been indispensable to conceal the great project, and to mystify the French as to its existence; and this had been done with astonishing address. Even when most actively engaged in directing the construction of the works, Wellington had the art to make not only the enemy, but also the people of the country, believe that he intended nothing serious there; and it is said that, in order to keep up the illusion, he sometimes spoke of the plan, even to officers of his own army and about his own person, as a thing which had flitted through his head, but which had been abandoned. And, even when Massena received better information, he remained in the belief that the works thrown up were little more than field-works, which might easily be turned or overpowered by his own batteries, and that so extensive a line was not defensible by such a force as the British general commanded, but must have several weak points, at some one or two of which, a concentrated, sustained attack, costing perhaps a few thousands in killed and wounded, must eventually succeed. For a complete notion of the lines of Torres Vedras the reader must consult military and scientific books, and Wellington's own dispatches. These lines were secured by breast-

* "But in the middle path a lion lay!"
Walter Scott, Vision of Don Roderick

† Id. id.

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works, abattis, and stone walls with banquettes and scarps. Not an opening nor interstice, through which a mountain goat could pass, but was blocked up or guarded. About 100 redoubts or forts, containing altogether more than 600 pieces of artillery, were scattered along these lines.

Within the foremost of these lines Lord Wellington and the allied army entered on the 8th of October, leaving the French van behind them in the plain. When Massena came up on the 11th, he appears to have been taken by surprise at the sight of the lines of Torres Vedras; and he employed some days in reconnoitring them from one extremity to the other. Not a single attempt was ever made to assail any of the works, or to penetrate the outer line in any part of its long range. Towards the end of October, when the privations and the sickness of his exposed army were alarmingly on the increase, Massena detached some of his troops to Castello Branco; and on the 15th of November, he himself began a retrograde movement, for the purpose of withdrawing his army from the low wet grounds in front of Torres Vedras and placing it in cantonments for the winter. The French head-quarters were soon established at Santarem, where the troops continued to suffer nearly every possible distress. The allies, with the city and port of Lisbon in their rear, remained, in plenty and comfort, behind the impenetrable defences which the genius and perseverance of their great leader had created for them.

In other quarters of the world our military operations for the year were of some importance. An Indian armament, composed of sepoys and Europeans, reduced the Isle of Bourbon in the month of July; and, being joined by some British troops from the Cape of Good Hope, it conquered the Isle of France in November. By the opening of the year 1811 there was not left to France a ship on the Indian Ocean, or a strip of land in either of the Indies.

An attempt made by Murat to invade Sicily in the month of September, when our cruisers were absent, and when there was no reliance except on our troops,

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ended in the loss of 800 men, who surrendered to Colonel G. Campbell, and of some companies that were cut to pieces by the Sicilian peasantry. Murat kept his camp and his army of invasion behind Reggio and Scylla for nearly two years longer, but he did not again attempt the experiment of landing in Sicily.

In Paris "all went merry as a marriage-bell." On his return from Vienna at the close of the preceding year, Bonaparte caused it to be intimated to Josephine that she must prepare to give up the claim of a wife upon his imperial majesty, and to see a younger and more fitting bride put in her place.

The divorce and the retiring pension of Josephine were things soon settled. On the 11th of March 1810, Marshal Berthier, acting as proxy for Bonaparte, received in the palace of Schönbrunn the hand of the Archduchess Maria Louisa, the fairest of the descendants of the Empress Maria Theresa, and at that time little more than eighteen years of age. When Maria Louisa drove away from the home of her fathers, attended by Berthier, Madame Murat and the widow of Lannes, and the other French people appointed by Bonaparte, some of the populace cried aloud that she was sacrificed to political interests and intrigues and treachery; that the Emperor Francis ought never to have consented to the sacrifice of his own child; that better, far better, would it have been to continue the war than submit to such a humiliation!

The conqueror, who had long since annexed a large part of Holland to France, had long been carrying on angry discussions with his brother Louis, the nominal king of that country. Taunted with ingratitude, and irritated, Louis declared that, unless a peace were concluded with Great Britain, or some important modification of the continental system allowed in Holland, he would no longer wear that crown, which he found he could not wear without being a means of completing the ruin of a good, interesting, and industrious people. At last, Louis came to the determination of resigning his crown in favour of his infant son, Napoleon Louis. On

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the 1st of July he signed an act of abdication and a proclamation to the Dutch people; and then fled with his children into Bohemia to seek an asylum in the dominions of the Emperor of Austria. To all this audacity Napoleon replied by a decree, dated July 9th, the first article of which was—"Holland is re-united to France!"

Events had occurred in England from which greater political changes were expected than ever resulted from them. By the non-attendance of George III. at the opening and closing of the session of parliament, and by other indications, it had long been suspected that the king was suffering under his old distressing malady. In the autumn of the preceding year, 1809, when his majesty entered upon the fiftieth year of his reign, it was determined to celebrate the anniversary as a Grand National Jubilee. The government, under Mr. Perceval, took the lead, but the call was eagerly and unanimously responded to by the municipalities of the kingdom, and by other public bodies and societies; and the great mass of the population hailed the 25th of October with every possible demonstration of loyalty, attachment, and respect. It was truly a national festival, and a gay and beautiful one, for that October month was more than usually fine and bright. The jubilee was observed as a holiday in every city, town, village, and hamlet; there was illumination and joy throughout the land; but the joy did not reach the interior of the old monarch's palace, but grief was there, and sickness, and the apprehension of death, and of what was worse than death. The king's mind had been over-wrought and over-excited by the Austrian war, which had then finished so disastrously, and by the Walcheren expedition, which was then terminating in such failure, and, as it was thought, in such disgrace. The nomination of the Earl of Chatham to that command had been completely a court nomination; and George III. is said to have reproached himself now for yielding to his own and the queen's partialities in favour of an amiable man who had proved himself to be unfit for the command. To an eye predisposed to despondence the whole aspect of affairs abroad was gloomy

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enough. Other causes of distress and agitation of a more private and domestic nature existed at the time of the jubilee, or were superadded shortly afterwards (materials of which the spirit of faction caught hold, and turned to atrocious uses); but the grief of griefs in the bosom of the old king was the declining health of his youngest child, his darling daughter, the Princess Amelia, who had long been in a very precarious state. The king himself had long been suffering under a disorder of the eyes, and was now well-nigh blind. In the summer of 1810 the Princess Amelia was removed to Windsor, in a state of great suffering. Her fond father visited her every day. When she felt that her end was approaching, the princess ordered a ring to be made, enclosing a lock of her hair, with her name on the inside, and the words "Remember me when I am gone." The mournful token was made and delivered. The next day when the king came to her bedside, and, darkling, held out his hand to her, the princess put the ring on his finger silently. He felt the ring, he understood all that it imported, he controlled his agony; but, when he had quitted the chamber of death, his intellect was found to be quite overset. This was on the 20th or 21st of October, 1810. The Princess Amelia lingered till the 2nd of November; but, though she missed her father's daily visit, she knew not the sad condition into which her fatal present had thrown him. On the 25th of October, the anniversary of the king's accession to the throne, it was publicly announced that his majesty was again attacked by the mental malady under which he had before laboured. Parliament met on the 1st of November, and after some adjournments, and examinations of physicians, both Houses proceeded to regulate the necessary regency. The debates were long and laborious. At last, on the 30th of December, Mr. Perceval proposed the same limitations and restrictions on the powers of the regent as were carried by Pitt in 1788. They were contained in five resolutions, four of which were forthwith carried, the fifth being postponed till the next day.

A.D. 1811.—There was no time for keeping Christmas

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holidays. On the 2nd of January the fifth resolution was settled and carried, though not as ministers had framed it. The five resolutions were then carried up to the Lords, who passed them all with one trifling alteration. The ceremony of installing the Prince Regent took place in Carlton House on Wednesday the 6th of February. Ever since the 1st of November, the existing Tory cabinet had been universally considered as doomed. It was now expected that the regent would throw himself into the arms of his old friends and associates of the Whig party; but upon many and weighty considerations he declared that he would retain his father's ministry; and his decision was certainly acceptable to the great majority of the nation.

On the 12th of February—six days after the installation of the regent—the session of parliament was regularly opened, not by the prince in person, but by commission. No speech from the throne since the beginning of the war had been more warlike. In the debates on the address, Lord Grenville explicitly declared his conviction that it was impossible to expect success in such a war—that, in a contest so unequal, the money and resources of this country must be expended with certain loss. The address, however, was carried in both Houses without a division, and with far less opposition and oratory than might have been expected.

Soon after his installation it was reported that the regent intended to restore the Duke of York to the office of commander-in-chief of the forces. The universal voice of the army said, Re-appoint the Duke of York; thus seconding or even anticipating the wishes of the Regent. Accordingly, on the 25th of May, the Duke of York's re-appointment was gazetted, and without any outcry. Even the opposition newspapers were nearly all silent on the subject. The duke signalized his return to the war-office by establishing regimental schools on the Bell system. The supplies voted for the year amounted to 56,021,869*l.* Out of this sum 20,276,144*l.* were appropriated to the navy, 21,269,940*l.* to the army, 5,012,378*l.*

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to the ordnance, 2,100,000*l.* to subsidies, &c. for Portugal, and 400,000*l.* as a subsidy to Sicily.

Acting at their own discretion, and on their own responsibility, our ministers had sent out reinforcements and other succours to Lord Wellington, at the moment when nothing was settled, and when it seemed doubtful whether they might not be displaced in four-and-twenty hours by their opponents, who had certainly induced people to believe that their first important proceeding would be the recall of our army from the Peninsula. In many particulars Perceval was not to be considered as a good war-minister, and his cabinet was censurable for delay and indecision, and a proneness to adopt half measures; but their manly conduct at this critical moment entitles them to the admiration and gratitude of those who believe that it would have been disgraceful and ruinous to abandon the Spaniards and Portuguese, and that the only chance, not only for the continent of Europe, but also for England herself, lay in the prosecution of the war. If the contest in the Peninsula, which was draining the life-blood of France, had been given up at the beginning of 1811, there would have been no Russian war in 1812; the Emperor Alexander would have temporized and would have endeavoured to avert hostilities by complying with the will of Napoleon.

But all the reinforcements which Perceval and Lord Liverpool had determined to send at their own peril did not exceed 7000 men, and these did not arrive until the beginning of March; while, in the month of January, Soult moved with 20,000 men towards the southern frontier of Portugal, to relieve and co-operate with Massena. Soult, who had thus begun to move two months before Wellington received his reinforcements, captured the fortress of Olivença on the 22nd of January, marched forward for Badajoz, defeated a Spanish army under General Mendizabal on the 19th of February, and then, without further hindrance, sat down to besiege Badajoz. Before Soult could quite complete this operation, Massena commenced his retreat, having so wasted and eaten

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up the country that he could no longer remain where he was. He evacuated Santarem during the night of the 5th of March, and was closely followed by Wellington. Wherever the French attempted to make a stand they were beaten; and every day of the retreat added to their miseries. On the 21st of March Massena reached Celorico, and reopened his communications with the garrison he had left at Almeida, and with the Spanish frontier near Ciudad Rodrigo. At Celorico the headlong retreat of the French and the hot pursuit of the allies may properly be said to have terminated. Every horror that could make war hideous had attended this dreadful march. The retreat of Massena was more disastrous to the French even than Soult's retreat of 1809. Finding that Soult could not come up, and that he could not maintain himself even on the extreme frontier of Portugal any longer, Massena, after suffering some further loss in an affair at Sabugal, crossed the Agueda into Spain on the 6th of April. And thus terminated the third French invasion of Portugal. Their total loss had been immense: including the sick and wounded, Lord Wellington calculated it at not less than 45,000 men.

The English and Portuguese army were placed in cantonments between the Coa and the Agueda, and the blockade of Almeida was commenced. Lord Wellington had expected that the Spaniards at Badajoz would make a good stand against Soult; but there was cowardice and imbecility, if not downright treachery, within those walls, and General Imaz surrendered on the 11th of March, when Marshal Beresford was preparing to remove to his relief. After the unexpected fall of Badajoz Soult put his troops in motion to cross the Guadiana and the southern frontier of Portugal; but intelligence reached him from Andalusia which induced him to give up the command to Mortier, and to repair with all haste to Seville. While Soult had been engaged near the Guadiana, General Graham (the late veteran and venerable Lord Lynedoch) had issued from Cadiz with the greater part of the British and Portuguese garrison, and had embarked with the intention of landing on the Andalusian coast, and of

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throwing himself upon the rear of the French army blockading Cadiz. Graham landed at Algeciras, and commenced his march back upon Cadiz by Tarifa. He had previously been promised the co-operation of a Spanish army, but the troops which joined him merited not the name, and their general, Lapeña, took the superior command over the head of Graham. On the 5th of March the Spaniards kept aloof and allowed the English and Portuguese to fight Marshal Victor with 8000 men and a formidable artillery on the heights of Barrosa. Those heights were carried by the British bayonets, and in less than an hour and a half Victor was in full retreat. It was one of the hardest battles ever fought in the Peninsula or in any other part of the world. Graham, who went into action with only 4000 men, lost 1243 in killed and wounded: Victor's loss was estimated at more than 3000, including more than 440 that were taken prisoners. But, except the honour gained to our arms, no important result followed the battle of Barrosa. Soult, from Seville, reinforced Victor, the blockading army, and the army of Portugal under Massena, who had now retreated as far as Salamanca. Mortier, advancing from Badajoz with the troops which Soult had left him, made an incursion into the south of Portugal, but was soon driven back by Beresford. Between the 9th and 15th of April the allies recovered the fortress of Olivença, and two or three important positions. On the 2nd of May Massena, powerfully reinforced, re-entered Portugal, his first object being to relieve Almeida. The allies barred his passage at Fuentes de Onoro; and there he was beaten again on the 3rd of May, and again on the 5th, and by very inferior forces. The French fled in disorder across the frontier, and Almeida was evacuated.

Bonaparte, before this, had become convinced that Massena was not the man to drive Wellington out of Portugal, and he had sent Marshal Marmont to supersede him. But Marmont, who now arrived, could do nothing more than continue the retreat which Massena had begun; and, retiring to Salamanca, he put the disheartened army into cantonments.

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Marshal Beresford was now besieging Badajoz without the *matériel* necessary. Soult hastened to raise this siege; and his movements led on the 15th of May to the bloody battle of Albuera, where again "the Spaniards could not be moved," and where all the fighting fell to the British and a few Portuguese brigades. At the end of the conflict, only 1500 unwounded men remained out of 6000 unconquerable British soldiers, who had contended with the French for possession of the hill of Albuera. The total loss of the allies in killed and wounded was about 7000 men, of whom more than two-thirds were British; the French were computed to have lost 9000. With his army lopped, and maimed, and spiritless, Soult did nothing on the 16th; on the 17th a British brigade came up and joined Beresford, and on the morning of the 18th the French marshal began another retreat. On the 19th Lord Wellington arrived at Albuera with two fresh divisions; and then the siege of Badajoz was recommenced, but with the same lamentable deficiency of means. On the 10th of June his lordship was called back to Portugal by the intelligence that Marmont was marching from Salamanca to join Soult. With admirable promptitude Wellington took up a position near Campo Mayor, along the menaced frontier of Portugal. The two French marshals joined their forces; but notwithstanding their great numerical superiority they ventured no attack, and our great captain was not again engaged during the year 1811.

General Hill, who had now the command on the Guadiana, advanced into Spanish Estremadura, surprised, surrounded, and completely routed General Girard, on the 20th of October, at Arroyo Molinos, took 1500 prisoners, all the artillery, baggage, &c.; and cleared the whole of that country (except Badajoz) of the French. In the mean while the disconnected Spanish armies had continued to seek pitched battles and to find sure defeats.

Before the close of this year it was made evident to the world that the continuance of the friendship between the Emperors Napoleon and Alexander was an impossibility. The Grand Duchy of Warsaw had become little else than a vast garrison for the French, or a van-

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guard to their prodigious armies; or, if it were more than this, it was a centre of intrigues and machinations, all hostile to Russia. Bonaparte too had given no slight offence to the Tzar by dispossessing his near family connection the Duke of Oldenburg of his territory, contrary to the treaty of Tilsit. But, perhaps, the cause which contributed most of all to the quarrel, or which most hastened on the open rupture, was the continental system, to which Russia could not submit without ruin, and to which Alexander could not have attempted to adhere without incurring the risk of some of those summary proceedings wherewith the Russians had been accustomed to remedy the mischievous polity of their sovereigns. The nobility and great landholders of the country soon discovered the unchangeable truth, that nations cannot sell unless they buy; that this excluding continental system, which prohibited the purchase of British manufactures, colonial produce, &c., shut them out from the best market they had for their own produce, and prevented their exporting by sea what they grew on their own vast estates. The complaints of his powerful subjects had induced Alexander to issue, on the 31st of December, 1810, a ukase, by which colonial and other goods were allowed to be introduced into the ports of Russia, unless they clearly appeared to be the property of subjects of Great Britain. Such a restriction was futile, and was, as a matter of course, intended by the government of Alexander to be so: it was evaded with the greatest ease, and the trade with England might almost be said to be re-opened once more. Complaints uttered by the French ambassador at St. Petersburg were soon followed by arrogant and most insolent menaces. Some of the Parisian *littérateurs* in the pay of Bonaparte, who had formerly been employed in writing eulogiums of the just and magnanimous Emperor Alexander, were now set to work to traduce him, his whole family, his court, his country, and his people; and, between the autumn and winter of 1811 and the spring of 1812, as many and as atrocious calumnies were

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produced against the Tzar as had been issued against the unfortunate Queen of Prussia just before the opening of the Prussian war of 1806.

Bonaparte had driven from his presence Talleyrand and every other able and acute statesman, together with almost every man that presumed to entertain or express opinions opposite to his own; yet still it is said that a few sensible counsellors, men attached to his interest as it involved their own, ventured gently to remonstrate against his present mad project, to represent the undecided state of the warfare in Spain, the frightful drain made upon the population of France, as well as upon that of Italy and other dependent states, by that warfare, the sullen aspect of all the north of Germany, the spirit displayed particularly by the students in the German universities, the progress making by patriotic political societies in nearly all parts of Germany, the doubtful attitude assumed by Bernadotte, the insecure nature of the tie which bound Austria to him, and the wonderful and sudden influence which might yet be exercised on the continent of Europe by English subsidies. But the Man of Destiny frowned down these prudent advisers, or silenced their remonstrances with trenchant argument or vapid declamation. We look in vain for any new encouragement which he could have found anywhere, except in the predicted bankruptcy of England, and the now manifested intention of the United States of America to brave the maritime power of Britain, and rush into a war against the country to which they owed their origin, their language, and every high quality which distinguished them as a people. He considered that this American war must inevitably act as a capital diversion in his favour; and he hastened to negotiate an intimate alliance between the United States and France —between the model republic of modern times and the destroyer of republics old and new; between a people who had laid it down as a fundamental principle of their constitution and government that conquest by force of arms was unjustifiable and inadmissible, and a people and

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a man who had been conquering or overrunning not only their neighbours, but nearly all the countries of Europe, for eighteen years.

A.D. 1812.—The parliamentary session was opened on January the 7th, with the speech of the prince regent, delivered by commission. The speech dwelt upon the favourable military events of the past year. With reference to the subsisting differences between Great Britain and America, it was stated that the discussions had not been brought to an amicable close; but that no measure of conciliation should be left untried, which might be found consistent with the honour of the empire, and the commercial and maritime interests of the country. The Marquess Wellesley, who was dissatisfied with some of his colleagues, and who was supposed to have contracted some engagements with the opposition, resigned on the 19th of February; and thereupon Lord Castlereagh returned to office, and succeeded the marquess as secretary for foreign affairs. The regent wrote a letter, which was purposely made public, to his brother the Duke of York, stating that he wished to see "a vigorous and united administration, formed on the most liberal basis," and authorising the duke to communicate the sentiments to Lord Grey, who would make them known to Lord Grenville. The Duke of York did what he was desired to do, and showed the regent's letter to Grey and Grenville; but they both flatly refused to join the Perceval administration. From this moment (with the exception of a moment or two of party hope and expectation) the Whigs began to revile the Prince of Wales whom they had so long flattered and applauded, and to applaud the Princess of Wales whom they had so long reviled, or treated with contempt or indifference. On the other side, the Tories seemed to renounce all their old sympathies for the princess, and to be determined to drive that unhappy, ill-advised, and imprudent lady, not only from court and the society of her daughter, but also from the country.

On Monday, the 11th of May, about five o'clock in the afternoon, as Mr. Perceval was entering the lobby of

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the House of Commons, a man, bearing the outward appearance of a gentleman, shot at him with a pistol: the ball entered his left breast and pierced his heart: he staggered, fell to the ground, and expired in less than ten minutes. The assassin did not attempt to escape; he went calmly to the fire-place, laid down his pistol, and acknowledged to every one that he was the person who had done the deed, saying that it was perfectly justifiable, and that no man save himself had ever known of his intention. And indeed it appeared immediately that no other person had been concerned with him, and that there was no mixture of political feeling in his motives. The name of the man was Bellingham, his condition that of a decayed merchant and unprosperous Liverpool broker. In a commercial visit to Russia some considerable time ago he had undergone serious losses, which he attributed to violence and injustice; he had repeatedly addressed Lord G. Leveson Gower, who had been our ambassador at Petersburg; and he had presented memorials to the treasury, soliciting a compensation for losses which, not having been incurred in the course of any public service, were considered as affording him no title to compensation. Perceval had refused, as was his duty, to listen to these applications; "but he could hardly have accompanied his refusal with any harshness, for few men had ever less harshness in their nature than he had; and yet this seems to have been all that had provoked this most savage act." The murder was committed on the Monday; on the Friday following (it being session time) Bellingham was brought to trial at the Old Bailey, and convicted of the murder; and on the Monday morning of the next week, before nine o'clock, the murderer was hanged, and his body in the hands of the surgeons for dissection, his heart, it was said, still beating faintly. Thus the whole of this dismal tragedy was enacted within one short week.

The public character of Perceval was much underrated, and his private character little understood. As a minister he had shown courage at a moment when courage was most wanted, and when timidity and hesitation must

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have brought on the most ruinous and degrading effects. His private character seems to have been not only without a blemish, but rich in some of the high and generous virtues. His disinterestedness seemed to be proved by the poverty in which he died.

Lord Liverpool, upon whom nearly the whole weight of government fell, was instructed by the regent, not to make new overtures to Lords Grey and Grenville, but to attempt to reinforce the cabinet by bringing back the two former members of it, whose loss had been severely felt. Liverpool accordingly applied to Mr. Canning and to the Marquess Wellesley, who both declined his overtures, alleging the continued difference of opinion upon the Catholic claims, and upon the scale on which the Peninsular war ought to be carried on. On the 22nd of May all the ministers tendered their resignations to the regent. Various negotiations were opened. It was again found needful to apply to Lords Grey and Grenville. These two lords demanded a sweeping change in the Household, and the right of placing comparative strangers about the regent's person. The regent refused to make this sacrifice, and hereupon the treaty ended. Nothing, therefore, was left—and perhaps nothing better was desired, not merely by the court but also by the country—but for the regent to go on with the old ministers, and to fill the post of premier with one of that body.

The warmest of the Whigs were compelled to confess that general opinion was at present decidedly against their party. On the 8th of June the Earl of Liverpool acquainted the House of Lords that the prince regent had been pleased to appoint him first lord of the treasury, and to authorise him to arrange and complete the cabinet. Thus Liverpool became premier in lieu of Perceval; Earl Bathurst succeeded Liverpool in the double and onerous offices of secretary for the colonies and secretary at war; Lord Sidmouth (Addington), who had been so long out of office, and who had once figured as premier, was brought back as secretary for the home department; the Earl of Harrowby became president

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of the council in lieu of Earl Camden (who, however, remained in the cabinet, without office, and was elevated to the rank of marquess); Mr. N. Vansittart became chancellor of the exchequer; Lord Melville (the son and successor of the old lord who had held that office so long, and on the whole so much to the benefit of the navy) succeeded Mr. C. Yorke as first lord of the admiralty; the Earl of Buckinghamshire took Lord Melville's place of president of the board of control; Lord Castlereagh remained secretary for foreign affairs; Earl Mulgrave master-general of the ordnance; and Lord Eldon lord high chancellor. In the non-cabinet appointments and in the law appointments there were several changes. In the ministry of Ireland the Duke of Richmond continued lord-lieutenant, and Lord Manners lord high chancellor; but the chief secretaryship, which had been held by Mr. W. Wellesley Pole, was now conferred upon Mr. Robert Peel.

On the 17th of June Mr. Vansittart, the new chancellor of the exchequer, brought forward the budget, not as his own work or plan, but as that of his lamented predecessor. The plan intimated the design and the determination of giving more vigour to the war. In the preceding year the supplies proposed and voted amounted to 56,021,869*l.*; but now the total proposed and voted was 62,376,348*l.* A number of petty new taxes were imposed, and two more enormous loans were raised.

On the 30th of July the parliament was prorogued by commission; and on the 20th of September it was unexpectedly dissolved.

We turn to the conflict of arms, which was more extensive, more terrible, and more decisive than in any preceding year. Great as were the British interests involved in that quarrel, and strange as is the history of the new American war, it was a mere episode in a grand epic, a bye-scene in a busy drama. We shall not therefore depart from the usual order of our narrative, but proceed to the great events passing in the Peninsula.

Lord Wellington, who had found necessary rest and tolerably good quarters for his fatigued troops, put him-

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self in motion as soon as it was time to move. He had not been idle during his stay on the Coa—there might be rest for the army, but there was none for him. During the latter months of 1811 he had been preparing with all possible silence and secrecy the means of re-capturing Ciudad Rodrigo, the possession of which still served the French as a basis of operations on one of the frontiers of Portugal. Marshal Marmont never guessed the intention to fall upon Ciudad Rodrigo in the midst of winter. On the 6th of January Wellington suddenly moved his head-quarters forward to Gallegos, and on the 8th part of his army crossed the Agueda and invested Ciudad Rodrigo without encountering any obstacle. By the 19th two practicable breaches were made, and that very evening orders were given to storm the place. There was no time to lose, for it was known that Marmont was now hastening forward to the relief. But for this circumstance Ciudad Rodrigo might have been reduced with very little loss to the besiegers. As it was, and though the place was carried and the garrison surrendered in less than half an hour from the time the assault commenced, the British suffered a very severe loss. The total loss of the British and Portuguese amounted to about 1000 killed and wounded. The loss of the garrison was about the same, besides 1700 prisoners. A large battering-train and a vast quantity of ammunition and stores were found within Ciudad Rodrigo.

Having recovered Ciudad Rodrigo, Wellington resolved to attempt to recover Badajoz also before the French should be in force to oppose him. Here again the greatest secrecy and caution were required. Stores were collected and movements made in the greatest secrecy; and on the 16th of March the place was invested. On the 25th an advanced work was taken by storm, and on the 26th two breaching batteries opened on the town. On the 6th of April three breaches were reported to be practicable, and orders were given for storming the place at ten o'clock at night. The loss of the allies was dreadful. It was not until daybreak on the 7th of April that Wellington was completely master

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of Badajoz. On the 8th Soult had collected his army at Villafranca, but, hearing of the fall of the place he had intended to relieve, he began, on the morning of the 9th, long before daylight, to retreat once more to Seville. Again the French were warmly pursued by the British cavalry, who cut up Soult's rear-guard at Villa Garcia.

At another place, where the French were not the besieged, but the besiegers, they suffered discomfiture and loss, if not shame. Since General Graham's expedition with Lapeña, which had terminated unprofitably, but for the British not ungloriously, at Barrosa, some attention had been paid to garrisoning Tarifa, the old town on the straits of Gibraltar. In the last days of the year 1811, Tarifa was invested by about 5000 men, whose operations were covered by another strong corps posted at Vejer. The place was garrisoned by about 1800 men, under the command of Colonel Sherrett. It appears that about 1000 of the men were British, the rest being Spaniards. On the last day of the year 1811 the French attempted to storm, but, numerous and bold as they were, were repulsed. During four days they kept up a continual fire: the walls were knocked to pieces, the little town was laid completely open; but they would not venture to try another assault, and on the night of the 4th of January they withdrew hastily, humbled and disordered, leaving behind them seven pieces of cannon, two heavy howitzers, and all the carriages and stores collected for the siege.

As soon as he obtained possession of Badajoz (on the 7th of April), Lord Wellington endeavoured to put the place into a good state of defence. But his lordship had short time to bestow upon these cares, for Marmont was making himself strong in the north, and was blockading both the Spanish fortress of Ciudad Rodrigo and the partially ruined fortress of Almeida. Leaving General Hill in the south, his lordship, on the 13th of April, moved the main body of his army back to the north. Upon this Marmont gave up his two blockades, collected his troops within the Spanish frontier, and retreated to Salamanca. By a happy combination of rapidity, daring,

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and skill, General Hill attacked, and carried, by a brilliant *coup de main*, the strong forts which the French had erected at Almaraz on the Tagus to protect a bridge of boats which secured the communications between their armies of the north and south. By this operation Marmont was cut off from Soult, and Soult from Marmont. On the 13th of June Lord Wellington completed his preparations for an advance in Spain, and broke up from his cantonments between the Coa and the Agueda with about 20,000 men, leaving General Hill on the Tagus near Almaraz, with about 12,000 more. On commencing his advance, his lordship was justified in calculating upon a chance of out-manœuvring Marmont, whose conduct had not impressed him with any very high notion of his military genius or capacity; and any brilliant success in this part of Spain was almost sure to compel Soult to raise the blockade of Cadiz, if not to evacuate the whole of Andalusia. Marmont was out-manœuvred; and on the 22nd of July he was most thoroughly beaten in the great battle of Salamanca. Headlong as was their flight, the French were followed very closely the whole way from Salamanca to Valladolid. Their loss in this remarkable battle was very severe: 3 generals were killed, 4 wounded; 1 general, 6 field officers, 130 officers of inferior rank, and nearly 7000 men were taken prisoners; their total loss in killed and wounded could not be ascertained, but there was no disguising the fact that they left two of their eagles and six colours in possession of the British. They also abandoned 20 pieces of artillery, several ammunition waggons, &c. The field of battle was very thick with dead. The allies alone had 694 killed and 4270 wounded, out of which number 2714 were British, 1552 Portuguese, and all the rest—that is to say *four*—Spaniards. The proportion of officers was very great; Generals Beresford, Leith, Cole, Spry, and Cotton were wounded. Marshal Marmont, having been severely wounded by a shell, gave up the command to General Clausel, who now retreated towards Burgos, with almost incredible speed.

The victorious British general entered Valladolid on

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the 30th of July; and by the 12th of August he was in possession of Madrid. Joseph Bonaparte was on his way to join Marmont with 20,000 men when he learned the terrible catastrophe of Salamanca: he was now a fugitive, making for the left bank of the Tagus, with the intention of rallying his army between Aranjuez and Toledo. In consequence of this bold movement upon Madrid, Marshal Soult raised the blockade of Cadiz, destroying the works which the French had constructed with an enormous expenditure of money and labour, and, abandoning the whole of western Andalusia, he concentrated his forces in Granada. Soult's retreat was very disastrous; his rear-guard was attacked by an allied force of English and Spanish, who issued from Cadiz, drove it from San Lucar, and took Seville by assault, although eight battalions had been left to maintain that city. In his march to Granada by Carmona Soult suffered further loss from excessive heat, fatigue, scarcity, and the occasional attacks of armed bands of peasantry. General Hill, in the mean while, had advanced from Guadiana to the Tagus, connecting his operations with those of Lord Wellington. On Hill's approach Joseph Bonaparte abandoned the line of the Tagus: and fell back from Toledo to Almanza in Murcia, to keep himself in communication with Soult in Granada and Suchet on the borders of Valencia and Catalonia. By the close of August Hill occupied Toledo, Ypez, and Aranjuez, thus covering the right of the allied main army, and guarding all the roads which led from the south of Madrid.

The situation of Lord Wellington in the Spanish capital was, however, very critical. As usual, there was no hope of effectual assistance from any of the ill-appointed and worse commanded Spanish armies. He had been promised that an Anglo-Sicilian expedition should be sent from Sicily to the eastern coast of Spain, and in sufficient force to clear that coast, if not the whole of Catalonia, Valencia, and Murcia. Much less than this would have compelled the French to withdraw altogether to the Ebro. But after the plan had been settled and

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agreed to, there arose various misunderstandings, differences of opinion, and delays.

At length, towards the end of July, some days before Lord Wellington moved from Valladolid to Madrid, General Maitland and his Anglo-Sicilians arrived at Port Mahon in Minorca, exciting the hopes of the Spaniards, and the fears of the French. Having joined 4500 vagabonds to his original force of 6000 men, Maitland proceeded to the coast of Catalonia, and anchored in the Bay of Blanes on the 1st of August. But instead of landing and attempting the siege of Tarragona, Maitland and a council of war determined to run down the coast to Alicante, the safety of which was supposed to be endangered in consequence of a defeat which the Spanish General O'Donnell had recently sustained in its neighbourhood. The hearts of the Catalonian patriots died within them as they saw the British fleet quitting their shores. On the 10th of August Maitland landed his troops at Alicante,—Suchet, who was in sight, retiring to the Xucar. Our Anglo-Sicilians and the worthless Majorcan division occupied the country from which the French retired; but in less than a week Maitland received intelligence that Suchet had been joined by King Joseph, and that Soult was in rapid march with his army of Andalusia to join the king and Suchet; and thereupon he found it necessary to evacuate all the country he had recovered, and to fall back to Alicante. Within that town and some works in front of it the Anglo-Sicilian expedition was cooped up, without the chance of effecting any powerful diversion in favour of Wellington.

It was vain to think of remaining at Madrid, where, if the allied army had not first been starved, three or four French armies, forming a total of 120,000 men, must have closed round it and cut off all retreat. The alternative left to Wellington was either to move to the north against Clausel, or to move to the south against Soult. He determined on the first of these movements, hoping that, although Clausel had now received large reinforcements, he should be able to give him some such lesson as he had given to him and Marmont at Salamanca—the

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doleful remembrances of which battle were known to have taken all their confidence out of the French infantry. Leaving two divisions under Hill near Madrid, his lordship marched with the remainder, on the 1st of September, back to Valladolid, which he re-entered on the 7th. Continuing his march towards Burgos, he fell in with the Spanish army of Galicia, which was found to be less than 10,000 men, undisciplined, ragged, and deficient in equipments. On the 19th of September the allied army entered Burgos, the French falling back to Briviesca, but leaving 2000 men, under General Dubreton, in the castle of Burgos. The possession of that fort was necessary for the security of the allied army in its present advanced and insecure position, and Wellington directed it to be invested forthwith, though he was ill furnished with siege-artillery, and well knew that the castle, strong by its natural position, had been fortified by the French with great care. The siege was very unsuccessful, and a series of assaults cost the lives of many of our brave men. On the 18th of October, as Wellington was preparing to renew his assaults, he learned that Soult and Joseph were advancing with 70,000 men. He was, therefore, under the painful necessity of abandoning the siege and of effecting a junction with Hill, who at the approach of Soult retired slowly towards Salamanca. On the 21st of October the allied army retired to Palencia, where it was joined by a fresh brigade from England under Lord Dalhousie. A third French army from the north, under the command of Souham, was now close upon Wellington, harassing the rear-guard. Yet with most admirable generalship his lordship extricated himself without loss, effected his junction with Hill, and returned to his unassailable frontier positions. By the 20th of November the main body of the British and Portugues were distributed in their old cantonments within the frontier of Portugal, between the Agueda and the Coa; and Hill's corps moved into Spanish Estremadura, into cantonments near Coria, and towards the Tagus.

The Spanish generals, who had done absolutely nothing to assist him, impudently condemned Lord Wellington

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for not keeping Madrid, and for not taking the castle of Burgos. In England harsh criticisms were uttered in the spirit of party and of malevolence or ignorance. The opposition again predicted that his lordship must inevitably be driven out of Portugal. His own brief and manly words are the best defence or explanation of his conduct. "I am much afraid," said he, "from what I see in the newspapers, that the public will be much disappointed at the result of the campaign, notwithstanding that it is, in fact, the most successful campaign in all its circumstances, and has produced for the common cause more important results, than any campaign in which the British army has been engaged for the last century. We have taken by siege Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajoz, and Salamanca, and the Retiro has surrendered. In the mean time the allies have taken Astorga, Consuegra, and Guadalaxara, besides other places. In the ten months elapsed since January this army has sent to England little short of 20,000 prisoners; and they have taken and destroyed, or have themselves retained the use of, the enemy's arsenals in Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajoz, Salamanca, Valladolid, Madrid, Astorga, Seville, the lines before Cadiz, &c.; and, upon the whole, we have taken and destroyed, or we now possess, little short of 3000 pieces of cannon. The siege of Cadiz has been raised, and all the country south of the Tagus has been cleared of the enemy. We should have retained still greater advantages, I think, and should have remained in possession of Castile and Madrid during the winter, if I could have taken Burgos, as I ought, early in October, or if Ballasteros had moved upon Alcaraz, as he was ordered, instead of intriguing for his own aggrandisement. . . . . I see that a disposition already exists to blame the government for the failure of the siege of Burgos. The government had nothing to say to the siege. *It was entirely my own act.* In regard to means, there were ample means, both at Madrid and Santander, for the siege of the strongest fortress. That which was wanting at both places was means of transporting ordnance and artillery stores to the place where it was desirable to use them.

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The people of England, so happy as they are in every respect, so rich in resources of every description, having the use of such excellent roads, &c., will not readily believe that important results here frequently depend upon fifty or sixty mules more or less, or a few bundles of straw to feed them; but the fact is so, notwithstanding their incredulity. I could not find means of moving even *one* gun from Madrid. . . . . As for the *two* heavy guns which ——— endeavoured to send, I was obliged to send our own cattle to draw them; and we felt great inconvenience from the want of those cattle in the subsequent movements of the army." As for the security of Portugal, his lordship could be under no apprehension. With Badajoz in the hands of the allies, with Hill beyond the Guadiana in Spanish Estremadura, and with no French force in Andalusia, or anywhere in the south, to march against him, the southern frontier of Portugal was safe. With regard to the northern frontier, where his lordship and the main army were stationed, although letters were intercepted from Joseph which ordered Soult to make Portugal the seat of the war, it was clear to a demonstration that that marshal would not again approach the line of the Agueda, or re-enter a country where he, his predecessors and successors, had met with nothing but calamity and loss. The strong place of Ciudad Rodrigo being in our possession, and Almeida being re-established, it was no easy matter for any enemy, however fresh and bold, to penetrate by that entrance. There was a pause in the war in this quarter, which lasted not only through the remainder of the winter, but through the spring of 1813.

At Alicante the Anglo-Sicilian army—in which there were not 2000 British soldiers—continued to be shut up. General Maitland resigned in the month of November, and was succeeded by General Mackenzie. But General W. Clinton soon came down from Sicily and took the command. Clinton would have introduced more activity and enterprise, but he was checked by the jealousy and ill-will of the Spanish governor. On the 2nd of December General Campbell arrived from Sicily with 4000

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men and took the command, thus making the fourth general-in-chief in four months! On acquainting himself with Suchet's formidable position on the Xucar and with other discouraging circumstances, Campbell declared that it would not be prudent to attempt anything until the arrival of Lord William Bentinck, who was reported to be coming from Sicily with still more considerable reinforcements; but his lordship never arrived until the 3rd of July, 1813. We have omitted, and we must continue to omit, the minor but very brilliant operations of the navy under our Cochranes, Hostes, and other heroes, who rendered very important services to the armies in Sicily, in the Peninsula, in India, and other parts of the globe. Everywhere victory was steady to our sea-flag, save only in our new contest with the United States of America, in which, through a deplorable mismanagement of means, some dirt was thrown upon our national standard. To this war we must now direct attention.

Ever since their fortunate issue from a struggle (their war of independence) which had long seemed so hopeless, and which was in fact nearly as hopeless as ever when the government of Lord North, dismayed by Lord Cornwallis's surrender, and still more so by the strong array of the British opposition, consented to negotiate and to give them all they asked, our American brethren had shown a confidence, a vanity and presumption, very distasteful to all Englishmen who loved their country, and very irritating to all of them who did not despise the display. If there was a brotherhood between us, it had become a brotherhood of Cain. Our descendants, whose population was constantly fed by fresh emigrants and adventurers from the mother country, and whose wastes were partially filled and tilled by these emigrants,—the citizens of the United States, who had no language, no literature, no venerable tradition, no fame as a people, except such as they inherited from Old England, and shared with Englishmen—persisted in the rancorous hatred which had accompanied the war, were the first and foremost to traduce the name of England, to libel the genial cradle from which they sprang, to heap abuse not only upon our na-

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tional policy and form of government, but generally upon our national character. The French Jacobins themselves did not speak more contemptuously of us, as an enslaved king-ridden and priest-ridden people, than did these Anglo-American republicans; nor did Bonaparte himself ever throw more disgusting personalities into a public and a national quarrel. These feelings of animosity, which ought not to have been expected from the party which had been successful in the contest, could not fail of provoking an angry and unwholesome reciprocity from some portions of the English people; but we have the facts confessed, and publicly avowed by more than one of the leaders of the American revolution, who came over to this country after the peace of 1783, to negotiate treaties of commerce, &c., that the British government was desirous and anxious to throw a veil over the past; that so far from wishing to recover the dominions it had lost, our government, together with the great majority of the nation, were of opinion that those dominions ought not to be accepted even if the Americans were disposed to make a voluntary surrender of them, or to return to their ancient allegiance; that henceforward the two countries would do best apart; that by establishing relations of amity, trade, and commerce, there might be a mutual interchange of advantages; that the most earnest desire of England was to preserve peace, and to give conciliation a fair trial.

While this was the feeling of successive British ministries and of the great majority of the nation, there was a minority of the people of England, comprising most of the Whig opposition, who professed to rejoice that the Americans had succeeded, and that we had been humbled and defeated in their revolutionary war; who made themselves on all occasions the panegyrists of the tyro-republicans and their newly-created institutions, and who kept pointing to the meteor which had risen in the western world as to a glorious luminary which must shed beneficent light and warmth upon all the countries of the globe, and eventually count many of those countries as its satellites, or as imitative bodies revolving round it and copying

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its bright example. Civil and religious liberty, according to this minority, had fled from all the antiquated countries of Europe, and was fast flying from the shores of Britain, to seek a shelter beyond the western waves, and to find a home among the primeval forests of North America. For many years the United States were, to the busiest and most emphatic of our writers, more than an Atlantis or a Utopia. Even men of less ardent fancies and of less revolutionary tendencies were interested in watching the working and result of the greatest political experiment made in modern times, and wished that the American system of republicanism should be allowed a fair trial. The reaction came afterwards—long afterwards; but from about the year 1780 to 1790, when the progress of the French revolution distracted and then absorbed attention, all the countries of Europe joined in fostering the self-conceit of the Anglo-Americans. Little was heard but praises, more or less extravagant, of transatlantic virtue, *straight-forwardness*, and *simplicity*. The French made an apotheosis for Franklin even while he was living in the flesh among them, and frequenting their *petits soupers*, and their *soirées*, literary, scientific, political, and fashionable, in his plain bob-wig and shoes without buckles. A saying often used by Bonaparte at a later period might have been reversed at this time—*Cette jeune Amérique m'ennuie!*

The citizens of the United States paid the French back in admiration and praises when they overset the kingly government and built up a republic on a foundation of blood and dirt. Feasts were given in the States to commemorate the execution of Louis XVI., who had been their benefactor, and who had hurried on his own destruction by interfering in their quarrel, and by sending his subjects to study in their school. Washington, who retired from the presidency in 1796, after having vainly attempted to set some limits to democracy, was compelled to confess, that when once the spirit of revolution and change begins to act among a whole people, it is impossible to say where it will stop; and he died in 1799 with the sad conviction that America could not exist long as a

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nation unless she lodged somewhere a coercive or restrictive power which should pervade the whole Union. The Jeffersons and Madisons who followed him thought, on the contrary, that democracy ought to be unlimited and illimitable; that the French revolutionists and levellers were the best models to follow, and that the English must ever be the worst enemies of the republicans of the west. From the commencement of our war with France there had been numerous quarrels, and not a few actual collisions. It can hardly be denied that the commanders of our ships of war were occasionally rash; but our government constantly displayed a gentle and conciliating temper, whereas the authorities of Washington were invariably dogmatical and insolent, conceiving that their neutrality was worth any price, and that England must submit to any outrage rather than break with them. At the same time these Americans themselves submitted to a succession of injuries and insults from the French, and that too without any disturbance to the amity and partiality they professed for *La Grande Nation*. They were bullied in turns by the Girondins, the Jacobins, the Directory, Consul Bonaparte and Emperor Napoleon; yet, with the exception of a little blustering, which ended in words, they continued to favour the French, and to annoy the British cruisers and squadrons as much as they possibly could. Framing for themselves a new Law of Nations and a new Maritime Code, they fitted up privateers for the French, they insisted that free ships make free goods, that their ships were exempt from search, be the cargo what it might or whose it might; that no war or combination of circumstances ought to interrupt any portion of their trade, and that they had a right to carry provisions and stores to any port of France, even though that port were blockaded by the British.

Another and an inevitable cause of quarrel arose out of our impressment system, and out of the American system of converting, by the shortest and least ceremonious processes, British seamen and other subjects of his majesty into republican citizens of the United States. By the constitution of most of these federal states, five years' residence gave the rights of citizenship to every

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foreigner, and converted any Englishman, Frenchman, Spaniard, German, Dutchman, or native of any other old country into an American citizen. But this five years' residence and probation had become a mere theory: in practice, five months, or weeks, or days, or even hours, sufficed for the transmutation, and ingenious crimps employed themselves in seducing British seamen from their ships, from their allegiance, and from their nationality, by promising them a few dollars more wages than they obtained in our national or mercantile navy. There was a well-known Yankee adventurer of this description who boasted that he had, within a given time, made more American citizens than had proceeded from all the prolific matrons of the state to which he belonged —and not babes and sucklings, but full-grown able-bodied men, citizens that sprang into life, as the Republic herself had done, in a state of ripeness and perfection, without going through the antecedent stages of existence. In Boston, in New York, in nearly all the large seaport towns of the Union, there were *bureaux*, or register-offices, or manufactories of American citizens, where English deserters and others, upon payment of a small fee, received a certificate of citizenship. In most cases this was done in a barefaced manner, with the sanction or connivance of the local government; but in some cases tricks and jugglings were resorted to in order to save appearances, and perhaps, also, to soothe or cheat the delicate consciences of some of the lawgivers. There was an old woman in one of these seaport towns who was mother or foster-nurse to a host of these Gracchi. She, too, had a conscience, and tried to cheat it and the devil. She kept a big cradle, made for the purpose of rocking full-grown British subjects who were to be converted in a hurry into American citizens, in order that, when testimony should be called for to prove their birth, she might with a safe conscience swear she had known them from their cradle.* To escape from our press-

* This piquant anecdote is told by a distinguished English diplomatist, who resided a long time in the country, and who was calm and considerate in judging of the govern-

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gangs many of our seamen fled from our merchant vessels, where they were liable to be seized, entered American trading-vessels as natives or citizens of the United States, and found skippers and shipmates ready to swear they were such. The common descent and common language of the two nations made discovery very difficult; the English runagates soon picked up a few Americanisms, a few of the common flowers of rhetoric, and the nasal twang was to be acquired in less than five years. But at times it would happen that the reported American citizen would have, on the fleshy part of his arm, those indelible marks which sailors used to love to produce with puncturing and gunpowder—a blue piece of tatoo, giving his real English name and the name of the British ship in which he had served; and it happened still more frequently that among the officers and crew of some English man-of-war searching the suspected American vessel there would be some that could recognise and swear to the identity of the newly and irregularly made American citizen—who could detect in many a Jonathan a real Jack, that had either deserted from the king's service, or had transferred himself from our merchant-service, for the reasons above-mentioned or for other reasons equally weighty. Yet even here a lapse of time or strong resemblances might deceive, and grievous though involuntary mistakes might be committed. And, besides, some of our more hasty officers, irritated by the notorious practices of the Americans and by the frequent desertion of their men, might occasionally be not over-scrupulous in examining identities or in seizing sailors reported to be Englishmen. Our government, however, always disclaimed such practices, and never refused satisfaction when it was fairly proved that the seamen so seized were natives or *bonâ fide* citizens of the United States. Jefferson sternly rejected a proposal made by our government, that the true American seamen

ment, and of the character and habits of the American people.—See Notes on the United States, by the Right Hon. Sir Augustus Foster, Bart., London, 1841 (unpublished), as quoted in Quarterly Review, No. CXXXV

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should always carry about with them certificates of their citizenship. The English minister must have known how such certificates were procured, but, such as they were, he offered to cause them to be respected. Jefferson held that the *simplest* rule would be, that a vessel being American should be evidence that all on board her were Americans also, or that the flag ought to proclaim the citizenship of the whole crew, and not allow of any search or press. This principle was altogether inadmissible.

There were many intervenient heart-burnings, and not a few insults difficult of digestion, and which possibly might not have been digested by England if it had not been for the critical state of the war carrying on against Bonaparte; but it was not until the year 1807, when Jefferson was for the second time president, that the war-whoop was again raised against Great Britain. Bonaparte's Berlin decree, against which the Americans had never presumed to offer any serious remonstrance (Jefferson was engaged at the time in a friendly correspondence with the government of the devourer of republics, in order to obtain through his all-commanding means the cession from Spain to the United States of Florida), had, in the eyes of the British government, rendered necessary a retaliation, and had produced fresh orders in council intended to support our maritime rights and commerce, and to counteract Bonaparte's continental system, the basis of which was the Berlin decree. As on other occasions, the American wrath was kindled, not against the first cause, but against the almost inevitable effect of that cause—not against France, who had made the grand innovations in national law, and who had trampled upon the rights of all neutrals, but against England, who resorted to measures for self-defence, and with the object of abrogating the most monstrous system that ever European conqueror had attempted to impose.

The bickerings at sea, the mutual manifestoes and embargoes, the stoppages to trade, and the diplomacy which followed cannot be narrated here. In the month of December, 1807, Jefferson succeeded in carrying a reso-

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lution that all trade and intercourse with foreign nations should be suspended; and matters remained in this state down to the declaration of war in June, 1812—an interval which the American government employed in adding to the number of its gigantic frigates, and which the commercial classes spent in a hopeless struggle against bankruptcy and ruin. To the last moment the British government continued to negotiate and to testify an anxious desire for peace. They modified the orders in council in favour of the United States; and on the 16th of June, 1812, Mr. Brougham (now Lord Brougham), the most eloquent of the advocates for the revocation of the orders, moved in the House of Commons an address to the regent, beseeching him to recall or totally suspend the said orders in council, and to adopt such other measures as might tend to conciliate neutral states. Lord Castlereagh then declared that it was the intention of government to conciliate the United States; and, accordingly, on the 23rd of June, there appeared in the Gazette a declaration from the regent absolutely revoking the orders in council as far as they regarded America. But by this time President Madison had not only made up his mind for war, but had commenced military operations.

It has been usual to say that the revocation came too late; that, if our government had conceded it only a few weeks or a very few months earlier, there would have been no war with America. Now Madison had been treating with Bonaparte's government ever since the end of 1810; he had agreed to the preliminaries of a treaty with that government early in the summer of 1811; and the whole course of his conduct, and his passionate desire to illustrate his presidency by annexing Canada to the United States, were proofs demonstrative of his determination to brave a war with England. The truth is, that Madison and his party had nicely calculated on which side lay the greater amount of profit to be obtained, or whether the United States would gain more by going to war with England than by putting herself in a state of hostility against Bonaparte and his edicts. As

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for the cogent logic of fear, or as to any immediate apprehensions from the "invincible" armies of the Man of Destiny, they could now have gone for nothing, for the French had no fleets left to convey great armies across the Atlantic—they could scarcely show a ship at sea anywhere. "Everything in the United States," says the historian of our navy, "was to be settled by a calculation of profit and loss. France had numerous allies; England scarcely any. France had no contiguous territory; England had the Canadas ready to be marched into at a moment's notice. France had no commerce; England had richly-laden merchantmen traversing every sea. England, therefore, it was, against whom the deadly blows of America were to be levelled."* In April, 1811, when (according to French authorities) Madison's envoy at Paris got the St. Cloud revocation, and got other assurances from Bonaparte, the great storm gathering in the north, and which was destined to accelerate that conqueror's ruin, was not yet discernible to the eyes of American statesmen; when it became visible to them it was rather too late to retract, if Madison and his party had been inclined so to do; but it would appear that there was no such inclination, and that the president and the whole party felt inwardly convinced that the Man of Destiny would prevail over Russia as he had done over Prussia and Austria, and the more surely from Prussia and Austria being now his allies and assistants, and sending, like nearly every country in Europe, their troops to fight under the conqueror's orders. These Americans had cultivated the friendship of Russia; they had sent envoys to Petersburg, who had fallen down on their knees as if to worship the throne of the Tzar; they had shown a strong leaning of affection to the Russian legation at Washington, and Jefferson had declared in his most emphatic style, that he firmly believed the Emperor Alexander to be not merely the best of sovereigns (for that were but a poor compliment according to his republican notions), but the best and most virtuous

* James.

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of men—"one enthusiastically devoted to better the condition of mankind"—and one who had "taken a peculiar affection to America and its government;"—but, notwithstanding all this, they believed, and they now hoped, that Alexander would be crushed as the Emperor Francis had been, and that Bonaparte would soon date his decrees from Petersburg as he had done from Vienna and Berlin.

On the 1st of June President Madison sent an awfully long message to both houses of congress, enumerating all the provocations received from England, commencing from the very beginning of the existence of the United States as an independent nation, reviving differences which had been long since considered as settled, putting in new pretensions and causes of quarrel, inventing some facts, and distorting others, giving a false colour and character to the conduct of the British government, misrepresenting the temper and feeling of the British people, and cleverly jumping over all the provocations, insults, and serious injuries which America had received from republican, consular, and imperial France, and to all of which she had so meanly submitted. On the 4th of June, probably because that day was the birth-day of our poor, old, blind, and distraught king, who had once been his sovereign—Madison laid before the two houses copies of the correspondence which had passed between his government and Mr. Foster, the English envoy at Washington, intimating that from that correspondence it would appear that Great Britain was determined neither to revoke her orders in council nor to concede any important point. Stormy and terrible were the debates which followed; loud were the boastings of one party, and dismal the predictions of the other. On the 18th of June, two days after Mr. Brougham's friendly oration in the House of Commons, they came to their resolution and declaration. Quibbling to the last, they did not declare war as it is usual to declare it; but they declared that the United States and Great Britain were, and had for a long time past been, in an actual state of war! This determination was carried in the House of Repre-

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sentatives, by 79 against 49. The supporters of war were chiefly from the western and southern states to Pennsylvania inclusive; the advocates for peace were chiefly from the eastern and northern states. The ominous note of disseverance was again heard, the eastern and northern states complaining that their interests were sacrificed to the passions and the interests of their neighbours. When the news reached Boston, that city, though the cradle of the American revolution, put on mourning, and muffled its church bells. The same tokens of distress and grief were displayed in other towns of the east and north; but at Baltimore, where, as in other ports of the southern states, swarms of privateers were all ready to pounce upon the British West India trade, the exulting and furious mob perpetrated cruel atrocities upon some of the opposers of the war.

The president had resolved to begin with the conquest of all Canada. Early in the year 1812, months before the hostile declaration, and while Madison was constantly assuring our envoy that he wished to continue amicable negotiations, the van of the invading army was assembled near the Detroit frontier: it was 2600 strong, was well provided with artillery, and was under the command of Hull, who passed with the Americans for a great general and strategist. To defend the far-extending frontiers of Upper and Lower Canada, and to do garrison duty in the interior of those vast provinces, we had only, of regular force, about 4000 men, and some of these were invalids: the Canadian militia then incorporated in the two provinces amounted to about the same number. Sir George Prevost, the commander-in-chief of these forces, was, if not an old woman, assuredly no general. But fortunately we had in the Upper province an officer of energy and ability, the gallant and still lamented Major-General Brock. This officer, knowing of the gathering of Hull's force on the Detroit frontier, and seeing that war was certain, sent discretionary orders to a British officer in charge of Fort St. Joseph to act either offensively or otherwise against the enemy at Michilimachimac, as he should find advisable; and that officer, on the

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17th of July, a month all but a day after the declaration of war at Washington, captured the American place, with its garrison of sixty men and seven pieces of ordnance. This was the first operation of the war, and was attended with very important consequences.

Hull and his republicans crossed our frontier, being preceded by a boastful proclamation, in which he spoke of success as certain, and in which he invited and incited the *oppressed* citizens of Canada to throw off their allegiance to a king, and become citizens of the republic. Hull's first serious disappointment was to find that his proclamation was laughed at, and that the Canadians of all classes were loyal and firm. He had not advanced far from the frontier before he was hedged up in a corner, with his retreat and supplies alike cut off; and on the 10th of August this great strategist capitulated with 2500 men and thirty-three pieces of cannon. The republican general Wadsworth, who followed him with 3000 men, was not more successful; he was beaten and made a prisoner in October, and his entire corps was annihilated. Such was the result of Madison's first Canadian campaign; such the first success of his project to make, in his own phrase, "*territorial* reprisal for *oceanic* outrages." The loss on the side of the British and Canadians would have been very inconsiderable indeed if it had not included that of the gallant Brock.

Madison's success on the ocean, where success could scarcely have been hoped for, was somewhat more consoling. Under the name of frigates, he had put to sea ships that were equal in force to most of our ships of the line. Too many of our frigates left on the American station or in the West Indies were old and weak—were of that description which our sailors contemptuously called "Jackass frigates." More British ships of the line and the largest of our frigates, with full crews and the best appointments, ought to have been sent to the American leviathans that were afloat under the fictitious name of frigates, but our Admiralty did not take these necessary steps, and left our frigates exposed to very unequal contests. One of these combats may serve as a

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fair specimen.—On the 19th of August a battle was fought between our frigate the 'Guerrière,' Captain James Richard Dacres, and the United States' frigate 'Constitution.' The American frigate, only seventeen days from port, was in the most perfect condition, with her stores ample, and her powder fresh; she had 476 picked men; in height, in length, she far exceeded her opponent, and the weight of her broadside was one half heavier. The 'Guerrière' was old, and absolutely worn out with long cruising. She was on her way home to be repaired or condemned; her bowsprit was badly sprung, her mainmast had been struck by lightning and was in a tottering state, her gunner stores were deficient, and what remained of her powder had lost its strength from damp and long keeping. She had on board only 244 men and 19 boys; yet the gallant young Dacres fought the big 'Constitution' for nearly three hours.

A flag thus lowered could carry no honour to the victors. The republicans were very desirous of taking the 'Guerrière' into port as a trophy, but the poor frigate was so rotten and so shattered in her hull, that by daylight of the morning after the action she was found to be sinking. Having removed the prisoners on board, Hull gave orders to set her on fire; and she soon blew up. Although they returned to port without their trophy, the American captain and his officers and men were applauded to the skies, were honoured with the thanks of the government, and were presented with 50,000 dollars as a reward for their wondrous exploit.

As for the Americanism of their tars, nearly one-half of the seamen of the 'Constitution' were natives of England or Ireland—were renegades that might have been disposed to fight the more desperately (as many such deserters and traitors were found to do on other occasions) from their dread of the yard-arm or the gibbet if their present co-mates and brethren should be beaten and they themselves captured. It appeared in evidence on a court-martial that these British subjects on board the 'Constitution' were leading men or captains of guns. Several of them were personally known to some of the

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officers of the 'Guerrière.' In fact, there were on board the 'Constitution' so many men whom the crew of the 'Guerrière' considered as their countrymen, that the American captain became seriously alarmed lest some feeling of compunction and remorse, some natural return of the love of country, should induce the renegades and deserters to join the captured crew of the 'Guerrière,' overpower him and his native Americans, and carry the 'Constitution' as a prize into the British port of Halifax. Hull kept his prisoners manacled and chained to the deck during the whole of the night after the action, and during the greater part of the following day.

We showed at the close of the year 1811 the temper and policy of Bernadotte as Crown Prince of Sweden, the disposition of the Russian cabinet, and the fixed determination of Bonaparte to attack the Emperor Alexander in his own vast and remote dominions, because that sovereign would not ruin his country by enforcing the Berlin and Milan decrees. He treated Bernadotte like a revolted subject and traitor; he summoned Sweden as a vassal, to enforce his decrees against the British trade; he seized and confiscated fifty Swedish merchantmen; and lastly, in January 1812, he sent Davoust, one of the roughest and most brutal of his generals, to take possession of Swedish Pomerania and the Isle of Rugen. This aggression induced Bernadotte, who had been corresponding with Russia before, to sign a treaty of alliance with the Emperor Alexander. The treaty was signed in March, 1812; and in an interview which took place between the Gascon and the Tzar, their plan of resistance was settled.

The astute Fouché once more interposed between Bonaparte and his ruin. He presented a memorial full of facts, arguments, and even eloquence; but, together with other advice from better quarters, it was thrown away upon the pride and conceit of the Man of Destiny, who seemed now but a foredoomed man. "I regulate my conduct chiefly by the opinion of my army! With 800,000 men I can oblige all Europe to do my bidding. I will destroy all English influence in Russia, and then

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Spain must fall. My destiny is not yet accomplished; my present situation is but the outline of a picture which I must fill up. I must make one nation out of all the European states, and Paris must be the capital of the world!" Such was the rhapsody which this strange being returned to his friendly remonstrants and advisers. Though his head was clear, both head and heart were possessed by a sort of monomania; and, just before the campaign and during its progress, as well as after its final termination, he betrayed symptoms of an alienation of mind, and of a disordered state of stomach and of general health.

Before quitting Paris, Bonaparte directed Maret, now Duke of Bassano and minister for foreign affairs, to write a letter to Lord Castlereagh proposing negotiations with England, on the basis of the *uti possidetis*. He now professed to be willing to grant nearly everything that he had refused during the negotiations which preceded the rupture of the peace of Amiens.

Early in May Bonaparte grossly insulted the Russian minister at Paris, and sent him his passports. On the 9th of May the Emperor of the French, with his young Austrian empress, set off for Dresden. Obedient to his summons, the kings of his own making, Bavaria, Würtemburg, Saxony, Westphalia, and other tributary princes, met him in the fair Saxon capital. Thither also repaired the Emperor of Austria, with his empress; and the King of Prussia, who could not bring his queen, for she had been slain by the evil tongue and evil doings of Bonaparte and his agents. His Prussian majesty had been already obliged to sign a treaty which placed 20,000 men of his diminished army at the disposal of Bonaparte. The Emperor of Austria now engaged to furnish 30,000 men to act against Russian Poland. After brilliant festivals, and balls and plays, wherein Talma played to a parterre or pit of kings, Bonaparte quitted Dresden and his wife, and posted to Thorn, where he arrived on the 2nd of June. His immense army was already assembled in Poland, chiefly between the Vistula and the Niemen. Europe had never seen such a con-

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densed host: there were 270,000 French, 80,000 Germans of the Confederation of the Rhine, 30,000 Poles, 20,000 Italians, Lombards, Tuscans, Venetians, Romans, Neapolitans, and 20,000 Prussians! On the 24th and 25th of June, this immense army, in three large masses, crossed the Niemen, then the boundary of the Russian empire, and entered Lithuania, without meeting with any opposition.

The result of this memorable campaign may be summed up in a brief space. With an army reduced by sickness, sanguinary battles, and the operations of the Cossacks to 120,000 men, Bonaparte reached Moscow to encounter famine, solitude, and a universal conflagration. He began his retreat from that burning capital on the 19th of October, and was soon overtaken by all the horrors of a Russian winter. On the 14th of November, when he left Smolensk, he had only 40,000 men able to carry arms. On the 5th of December he stole away from the wretched remains of his troops to commence a rapid flight towards France. He reached Paris on the 18th of December at night. The loss of the French and their auxiliaries, in the whole of the Russian campaign and retreat, is estimated at 125,000 slain in fight; 132,000 died of fatigue, disease, hunger, and cold: and 193,000 prisoners, including 3000 officers and 48 generals. They had left behind them 900 pieces of cannon, and 25,000 waggons, cassoons, &c.

The British government had greatly exerted itself in aid of the Russians. A treaty of peace between England and Turkey had been concluded in 1809, and at the beginning of the present year Mr. Stratford Canning speedily, and with great ability, negotiated a treaty between Sultan Mahmoud and the Emperor Alexander, which enabled Russia to withdraw from the Danube an army of 30,000 or 40,000 men, and to bring that army upon the flank of Bonaparte's flying and disorganised forces. In the month of July a treaty of peace and amity between Great Britain and Sweden, the ally of Russia, was ratified; and in the month of August, when Bonaparte was penetrating into the heart of the Russian

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empire, with victory in his van, a treaty of peace and union was ratified at Petersburg between Great Britain and Russia. The Russian fleet, which would have been frozen up and rendered almost helpless if left in its own ports, was brought over to winter in England. It was chiefly English money or English credit which set the armies of the Emperor Alexander in motion. A French officer who accompanied General Lauriston to the Russian head-quarters once said to us, "We had been led to believe that your credit was gone, that England was bankrupt; but, when I found everywhere that your bills of exchange and bank-notes were received and passed as if they had been gold, I trembled for the result of our daring enterprise!" English aid, both privately and publicly, was promptly given to the Russians who had suffered in the war. We have a distinct recollection of the generous sympathy and enthusiasm with which a large subscription was raised in the city of London for the purpose of rebuilding the city of Moscow.

Parliament, with a newly-elected House of Commons, assembled on the 24th of November. Its most noticeable measures previous to the Christmas recess were a grant of 100,000*l.* to the Marquess of Wellington, and a grant of 200,000*l.* for the relief of the sufferers in Russia.

A.D. 1813.—After some stormy debates in the Commons on the American war, in which the opposition not only blamed the ministry for the negligent manner in which the maritime part of the conflict had been conducted, but also charged them with having been the aggressors, and with having provoked an unnecessary and fatal contest, Lord Castlereagh, on the 18th of February, moved an address to the prince regent, expressing entire approbation of the resistance proposed by his royal highness to the unjustifiable claims of the American government, a full conviction of the justice of the war on our part, and the assurance of a cordial support from that House. The opposition renewed their censures, but they were too weak to try a division: the address was agreed to,

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nem. con., as was another in the House of Lords to the same effect.

The budget was introduced on the 31st of March. The requisite supplies of the year were stated at more than 72,000,000*l.*, out of which England and Scotland were to furnish more than 68,500,000*l.* This was a larger amount than had been voted in any preceding year; but the American war promised to be expensive, and it was generally felt that at this decisive moment we ought to put forth all our strength, in order to finish the contest in Spain, to prolong our aid to Russia, and to give encouragement and assistance to the other nations of the Continent that should rise and throw off their chains. All the estimates were voted by immense majorities. Among the ways and means were war-taxes to the amount of 21,000,000*l.*, a fresh loan to the same amount, and a vote of credit for 6,000,000*l.*

The Russian catastrophe not only prevented Bonaparte from reinforcing his marshals in Spain, but it also obliged him to recall the best of them, and the only one among them whose generalship had cost Lord Wellington any very serious thoughts. This, of course, was Marshal Soult, who, early in the year, was removed from the Peninsula to oppose the Russians, then about to advance through Germany to the banks of the Rhine. Soult, however, took only 20,000 men with him, thus leaving about 70,000 men to oppose Wellington, besides the army of Suchet in the eastern provinces. The army of Portugal, as it continued to be called, was now placed under the command of General Reille, who had his head-quarters at Valladolid; the army of the Centre, under Drouet, was distributed round Madrid; and the army of the South had its head-quarters at Toledo. Generals Clausel and Foy commanded separate divisions in Aragon and Biscay. Before the campaign began, Andalusia and Estremadura in the south, and Galicia and Asturias in the north, were entirely free from the French.

Doing at last what they ought to have done at first, the Spanish provisional government, with the consent

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and approbation of the Cortes, made Lord Wellington the Commander-in-chief of the Spanish armies, and took some measures to improve the discipline and effectiveness of their troops. In the main, however, these things remained but as a good intention, for the regency had hardly any money except what they received from England, the insurrections and wars of independence in the South American colonies stopping at the fountain-head the supplies which Spain had been accustomed to receive from that quarter; and the pride, ignorance, and indocility of the Spanish commanding officers, and the slothfulness and indiscipline of the Spanish troops, were evils not to be remedied of a sudden, or in the course of one trying campaign. And therefore the only army upon which Wellington could rely for field operations consisted of about 63,000 British and Portuguese infantry, and about 6000 cavalry. His lordship commenced active operations about the middle of May, making the allied army enter Spain in three separate bodies; the left under Sir Thomas Graham, the hero of Barrosa, the right under the indefatigable Hill, and the centre under his own immediate command. The combined movements of these three divisions were so well managed that the French were taken by surprise. By the 20th of June, the whole of the allied army was beyond the Ebro and concentrated near Vittoria. On the 19th the enemy, commanded by Joseph Bonaparte, having Jourdan as his major-general and director, had taken upon a strong position in front of Vittoria. They were attacked there on the 21st, and were more thoroughly beaten and cut up than ever they had been before by Lord Wellington. The intruding Joseph had a very narrow escape; his travelling carriage, his papers, his fine wardrobe, some of his women, much of his plunder and his splendid side-board of plate, were taken, and several of his attendants were captured, or cut down or shot in their flight by the revengeful Spaniards. The French army rallied at no point of its line, and they carried off with them only one gun and one howitzer. "The soldiers of our army," said Lord Wellington, "have got among them about a million sterling in money,

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with the exception of about 100,000 dollars which were got for the military chest." Among the innumerable trophies of the field was the baton or marshal's staff of Jourdan. Lord Wellington sent it to the prince regent, who gave him in return the baton of a field-marshal of Great Britain. Of arms and materials of war there were taken 151 pieces of brass ordnance, 415 caissons, more than 14,000 round of ammunition, nearly 2,000,000 of musket-ball cartridges, 40,668 lbs. of gunpowder, 56 forage-waggons, and 44 forge-waggons. When the battle began, the numerical strength of the two armies was about equal. But on the side of the allies the Spaniards, though they behaved better than they had hitherto done, were not to be compared with French soldiery. The French had in many actions made greater slaughter of a Spanish army, but they had never in any one instance reduced an army, even of raw volunteers, to such a state of total wreck. They saved themselves from destruction or from captivity by abandoning the whole *matériel* of the army, and by running like a mob.

The news of this decisive battle of Vittoria gave strength, spirit, and union to the allied armies acting against Bonaparte in Germany, dissipated the last misgivings and indecisions of Austria, broke up the congress assembled at Prague, in Bohemia, which before would have treated with the French, and have left them in possession of many of their conquests; and it gave to the voice of the British government and its envoys a vast increase of consideration and influence. Without this battle of Vittoria and its glorious results in June, there would have been no battle of Leipsig in October.

King Joseph hardly once looked back until he had reached the strong walls of Pamplona, in Navarre, among lofty mountains, the offshoots of the Pyrenean chain. He did not stay there long. A French garrison was left at Pamplona as well as San Sebastian; but both places were very soon invested by the allies. Except on the eastern coast, where Suchet kept his ground with about 40,000 men, there was not a spot in all Spain where the French could move or show themselves.

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Some portions of the allied army went right through the mountain passes in pursuit of the French; and upon the 7th of July, the last divisions of the army of Joseph Bonaparte, after being driven from the very defensible valley of San Estevan, descended the reverse of the Pyrenees and entered France. Lord Wellington then became master of the passes of San Estevan, Donna Maria, Maya, and the renowned Roncesvalles; and his sentinels looked down from the rugged frontier of Spain upon the level and fertile plains of France, which lay in sunshine at their feet as if inviting their approach. Thus, in five-and-forty days from the opening of this memorable campaign, Wellington had conducted the allied army from the frontiers of Portugal to the confines of France; he had marched 400 miles, had gained one of the completest of victories, had driven the French through a country abounding in strong positions, had put the intrusive king to a flight which was to know of no return, had liberated Spain from everything but the evil consequences of Spanish folly, impatience, vanity, and presumption; and he now stood as a conqueror upon the skirts of France.

Bonaparte felt the need of Soult's services in Germany; but, seriously alarmed for the safety of his own southern frontiers, he sent away that marshal from the Grand Army with very extraordinary powers, with a sort of Alter Ego character, and with the title of "Lieutenant of the Emperor." Soult was to take the entire command of the defeated troops, to re-equip them, to gather formidable reinforcements, to lead his masses speedily against Wellington, to clear the French frontier and the passes of the Pyrenees, and to relieve Pamplona and San Sebastian, and to drive the allied army behind the Ebro. And all this Soult undertook to do—or he thought it expedient to tell the army that he had undertaken it, and that his hopes were good. He flew through Germany and through France, giving his urgent and imperative orders, and collecting all manner of disposable forces; and on the 13th of July he reached the southern frontier and took the command of the disorganised frag-

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ments of Jourdan's army. But after the faintest gleams of success in the Maya and Roncesvalles passes, Soult failed completely, and after several sanguinary battles among the Pyrenees, which greatly thinned his army, was driven back to France by the 1st of August. During these "Battles of the Pyrenees"—they were ten in number—Sir Thomas Graham, with a considerable part of our army, was engaged in the siege of San Sebastian, being as usual badly provided with *matériel*, and having hardly any sappers and miners. On the 30th of August, a French column attempted to relieve this place, but the spirit of the men had so sunk that they allowed themselves to be beaten by a corps of Spaniards. On that same day San Sebastian was stormed and taken. The castle surrendered on the 8th of September with 2500 men in it; but this terrible siege had cost the allies nearly 4000 in killed and wounded. Also on the 31st of October the 4000 French in Pamplona, having lost all hope of relief, surrendered to Lord Wellington's tried and steady friend Don Carlos de España, who had latterly commanded the blockading forces.

On the 10th of November our troops began to descend from the Pyrenees into the valleys on the French side. Soult now occupied a very strong position on the Nivelle. Some affairs of posts followed; and on the 13th General Hill with 13,000 men repulsed and defeated Soult with 30,000. Then, in despair, the French marshal retired into his entrenched camp. Nothing of importance occurred on the Nivelle during the few remaining days of the year 1813, for the allied army had need of rest and reinforcements.

While the grand allied army under Wellington had been gathering all these laurels, the badly-organised expedition which had been sent from Sicily and from the Balearic Islands to the coasts of Spain, and which had been under the command of so many generals in a short space of time, had done nothing to reflect honour on British arms. But this fault lay more with the British government, and the Spanish commanders and functionaries, and the bad composition of most of the auxiliaries

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or mercenaries which Lord William Bentinck had sent down from Sicily, than with the British generals who, one after the other, had the misfortune to command such troops and to serve under such disadvantageous and perplexing circumstances. There was failure—perhaps there was disgrace: but this great consideration is ever to be borne in mind—but for the presence of this allied force on the eastern coasts and in Catalonia, Suchet, the most successful of all the French generals in the Peninsula, might have started from Valencia, have traversed the breadth of Spain, and either have joined Jourdan and King Joseph with 30,000 fighting men before the disastrous and decisive battle of Vittoria, or have joined Soult when he had forced his way back into Spain through the Pyrenean passes, and was hammering at the allies in order to force his way onward to Pamplona. After the command of the allied forces in the East had been tossed from hand to hand like a shuttlecock, it was given to Major-General Sir John Murray, who was considered an officer of spirit and of considerable ability. Murray found that the *morale* of this heterogeneous *corps d'armée* was exceedingly bad, and that fierce jealousies and quarrels were raging between the British and Spanish soldiery, and between the latter and the Sicilian and Calabrian corps in our pay. Being, however, ashamed of the long inaction at Alicante, Sir John Murray, early in March of the present year (more than two months before Lord Wellington commenced his brilliant advance from his Portuguese cantonments), moved into the mountainous district of Castalla, drove Suchet's outposts before him, and placed his own advanced posts about Biar. By a corresponding movement the Spanish general, Elio, acting in the open country on Murray's left, got to Yecla and Villena, leaving an open gap between these two places. In April, Suchet took the field in force: on the 11th his general Harispe surprised the Spaniards at Yecla, beat them soundly, and killed or took 1500 of them. Other French divisions had entered the gap which Elio had left open to them, and so, on the very next day, an entire Spanish regiment, cut off and shut up in the castle

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of Villena without the proper means of defence, beat the *chamade* and surrendered. On this same day, the 12th of April, Suchet marched against the advanced post which Sir John Murray had established in the pass of Biar, drove it in, and captured two mountain guns. Then, rushing through the pass, but with only three divisions of infantry and two brigades of cavalry, Suchet, on the 13th, attacked Sir John Murray, who had chosen and occupied an excellent position in the mountainous country of Castalla. The French reached the upper slope of the mountain; but a close steady volley from the British 27th, and a bayonet-charge by the same regiment, drove them down again with considerable loss. Some of the Spaniards behaved well, and supported this charge of the 27th, which so disheartened Suchet that he made no second attempt, but retreated immediately through the pass of Biar, and thence by the road by which he had advanced. Just at this moment, owing to some absurd apprehensions on the part of Lord William Bentinck and our ministers at home, that Murat might invade Sicily with part of the Neapolitan army, and place that island in jeopardy, 2000 British troops were withdrawn and sent back to Sicily. At the end of May Sir John Murray quitted Alicante by sea, and carried the army back to Catalonia, to besiege Tarragona. This enterprise ended in a total failure, not unattended with disgrace. At the close of the war Sir John Murray was tried in England by court martial. He was acquitted of all intentional disobedience of orders, but found guilty of abandoning artillery and stores which he might have carried off. His conduct was attributed to an error in judgment, and his sentence was merely that he should be admonished. Lord William Bentinck now arrived and took the command of this unlucky army. After some manœuvring and a very little fighting, Suchet removed the French garrison, destroyed the fortifications together with a part of the town of Tarragona, and retreated behind Llobregat. This was in the middle of August. The allies now entered the desolate city, and made the convenient port of Tarragona the rendezvous of the British fleet. Making an imprudent advance,

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Lord William Bentinck sustained a severe check at Villa Franca in September. Shortly after these operations his lordship returned to his political and diplomatic duties in Sicily. He was succeeded in the command by General W. Clinton, who found this allied army of the East doing nothing and incapable of doing much. When Clinton proposed to invest Barcelona the Spaniards refused to assist him.

In other quarters nearly every day of this year had been a day of crisis. On his return to Paris, on the night of the 18th of December, 1812, Bonaparte found that conspiracies had broken out even in his capital during his absence in Russia; that in many parts of France the people had testified great joy at the several times falsely reported news of his death; that discontent or absolute disaffection had shown itself in different directions, and among various classes; and that some of his marshals and generals were not exempted from the suspicions of his secret police. The new conscriptions were, however, enforced with the utmost rigour; the militia or national guards were drafted into the skeleton battalions of the regular army; some of the guards and other troops were immediately re-called from Spain; the sailors of the useless French fleets were regimented and sent to serve on land—no possible means were neglected to swell the military force, and to enable the foiled conqueror of nearly all Europe to retrieve his fortunes by one tremendous and decisive campaign. And to such an amount were his forces swollen that, in the year 1813, Bonaparte had (counting all his troops, in all quarters, and of all services) from 700,000 to 800,000 men under arms. Out of this number he collected in Germany, early in the spring, an army of 350,000 men.

The Emperor Alexander had lost little time in putting his armies in the track of the fugitive enemy. He took the field himself in the very midst of that horrible winter, and flew in sledges over the snow from Petersburg to Wilna, where, on the 22nd of December, 1812, his now concentrated army and his hordes of Cossacks saluted him with the most enthusiastic hurrahs. From Wilna the

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Russian army advanced in two grand divisions, the one taking the direct road by Warsaw, the other taking the road by Königsberg and the northern provinces of Prussia. The majority of the Poles now received Alexander as a deliverer; the Prussians, with so many wrongs to avenge upon the French, welcomed the Russians with transports of joy; and such was the national enthusiasm and the rage against Bonaparte, that no attempts of the Prussian king and government could possibly have prevented or delayed the junction of the Prussian with the Russian troops. General Yorck, who commanded the 20,000 Prussians who had been sent to serve as a contingent force in the invasion of Russia, had behaved with rare sincerity and moderation. He was serving against his will and against the will of his sovereign, he was serving against the dearest interests of his country; and, when the retreat from Moscow became a *débâcle*, he was so placed, in the line of retreat, that if he had only moved his corps the French loss must have been still more frightfully increased, while, if he had turned his arms against them and had fallen upon them in their confusion—as many of his officers and nearly all his men wished him to do—not one out of every ten of the French fugitives that afterwards rallied and made head in Germany would have escaped. But Yorck remained true and steady to the treaty which bound his master to the French, until the moment when his sovereign revoked his orders, and declared that treaty to be broken by Bonaparte. The French still occupied Dantzic, Glogau, Stettin, and other Prussian fortresses on the Oder; they had 30,000 men near Posen, and a strong garrison in Berlin. Frederick William was in a manner besieged in his own capital, and most of his troops were scattered in the midst of French cantonments and formidable French garrisons. Notwithstanding, on the 22nd of January, his Prussian majesty suddenly quitted Potsdam and repaired to Breslau, where he could give the hand to the advancing Russians, and correspond directly, or confer personally, with the Emperor Alexander.

After an interview with the Tzar, Frederick William

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sent to Bonaparte to propose an armistice, the conditions of which should be that the French should evacuate Dantzic and all the Prussian fortresses they occupied on the Oder, and retire behind the Elbe into Saxony, in return for which the Emperor Alexander would stop the march of his victorious armies, and remain behind the Vistula. But this proposition was indignantly rejected by the Emperor of the French, who had learned nothing from misfortune, and who would not see his own increasing weakness. On the 28th of February, or as soon as he learned the rejection of his proposition by France, Frederick William concluded a treaty of alliance offensive and defensive with Russia. This treaty, being ratified at Kalisch, became the basis of the *Sixth Coalition* against France. By the treaty Prussia engaged to furnish 80,000 men, without counting her *levées en masse;* and Russia promised 150,000 men. Austria was invited to join the league, which as yet proposed little more than the liberating of all Germany; but the court of Vienna, though it increased its armies, and collected an imposing force in Bohemia, close to the frontiers of Saxony, professed a desire to remain neutral.

The Russians now blockaded Dantzic, and advanced from the Vistula to the Oder, where they were joined by the Prussian general Bulow and his veterans. Eugene Beauharnais fled before the allies; and he was sorely molested on his retreat by the Prussian insurgents and pulks of Cossacks. On the 4th of March, Berlin was evacuated by the French; even Dresden was evacuated on the 27th of March; and, after having reinforced some of the French garrisons left in the countries from which he had fled, Beauharnais rallied behind the Elbe with about 40,000 men. But every day brought some fresh proof of the detestation in which the French were held throughout Germany—brought some unquestionable evidence that the fire was at last kindled in the great Teutonic heart. Fifty, a hundred insurrections broke out simultaneously; and day and night the cold March air was filled and warmed by the patriotic songs of the Ger-

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man students, who had thrown away their pens and books for swords and muskets, and who were calling upon all classes—upon every man or youth of the Germanic breed—to follow their example, and aid in expelling the oppressors and demoralisers of their country. Körner's "Men and Cowards," and "Song of the Sword," wrought more miracles than the "Marseillese Hymn." Germany had slept and dreamed for an unseasonably long time, but her awakening was sublime and full of hope. Ten thousand Cossacks under Tettenborn, aided by the insurgents, swept clear of the French the whole of Pomerania and Mecklenburg, and then inundated the country on the Lower Elbe. This carried the flames of insurrection into other states and populous cities. Beauharnais repulsed the Russian division of Wittgenstein, dispersed, on the 5th of April, a corps of observation established at Magdeburg, threatened the road to Berlin, and stopped for some days the advance of the allied van. After this check, however, the allies advanced and occupied Leipzig. Beauharnais had been rapidly reinforced by troops from all parts of France and from Italy; and now, on the 25th of April, when his stepfather arrived from Paris, the line of the Elbe was defended by a force far superior (numerically) to any that the Emperor Alexander and Frederick William had near to it. As soon as he reached his army Bonaparte determined to resume the offensive, hoping to strike a grand blow before the allies should have time to collect their forces in one great head, and by a single battle to recover Leipzig, Dresden, Berlin. Some of the Russian generals, in command of divisions which had been too widely scattered, were taken by surprise; other commanders, both Prussian and Russian, were too far in the rear to know of the rapid approach of Bonaparte, who, on the 2nd of May, fought and won—but not without immense sacrifices—the battle of Lutzen. On the 21st he attacked the Russians and Prussians again, and obliged them to retire from the well-contested field of Bautzen. But in both these affairs Bonaparte had been on the very verge of a defeat: the two victories led to

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no decisive result; the allies retired in good order, losing few prisoners and no guns. Bonaparte bitterly complained of this; but his generals observed to one another that these were no longer the days or the troops of Marengo, Austerlitz, or Jena, when one battle decided the fate of a war.

On the 14th of June, Great Britain made herself a party to the coalition, or to the treaty concluded between Russia and Prussia.* Some English officers of the highest rank repaired to Germany and to the head-quarters of the allies, and abundant assistance was promised. The best present aid we could give was to find full employment for the large body of veterans still left in Spain. This was understood by the allies; but Lord Wellington surpassed all the expectations they had formed of him, high as those expectations indubitably were.

The allies withdrew both from Leipzig and from Dresden; and Bonaparte entered the fair capital of Saxony. He now consented to an armistice, which was to extend from the 5th of June to the 22nd of July. Austria still professed goodwill, and an anxious wish to mediate;

* On July the 8th a convention, known by the name of the Convention of Peterswalden, took place between Great Britain and Russia. On September the 9th a triple treaty of alliance between Russia, Austria, and Prussia was ratified at Toplitz; and on the 3rd of October a preliminary treaty of alliance between Great Britain and Austria was signed at the same place.

The court of Denmark could not yet free itself from its French toils; and on the 10th of July, when the French had gained the battles of Lutzen and Bautzen, when the star of Bonaparte seemed again to prevail, and while the congress of plenipotentiaries were assembled at Prague, a reciprocal treaty of alliance and guarantee between France and Denmark was ratified at Copenhagen. It could not but happen that the Danes should be made to pay afterwards for this conduct of their government. But there was more than this:—on the 3rd of September, when Bernadotte and his Swedes, far away from their own frontiers, were advancing with the allies into the heart of Germany, Denmark declared war against Sweden!

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and Metternich himself hurried to Dresden, to proffer his good offices, and to act with the whole weight and authority of the cabinet of Vienna. He proposed that the French should entirely evacuate Germany, and that the Rhine should be the boundary of the French empire in that direction. The successive revolutionary governments of France, and Bonaparte himself, had repeatedly declared that the Rhine, the Alps, the Pyrenees, and the seas, were the natural boundaries of France; Metternich did not ask him to give back Savoy in the Alps, or his vast conquests and annexations beyond the Alps; the only point he insisted upon being the renunciation of everything beyond the Rhine. But Bonaparte arrogantly and resolutely refused either to give up the ground he had occupied beyond the Rhine, or to abandon the Confederacy of the Rhine, which was nothing more than a French combination against the independence and security of Austria, Prussia, and all Germany. True to his old practice, when Bonaparte found that insolence and bullying would not do, he tried the effects of cajolery and temptation. He would not think of offering or promising to give back to Austria her large and rich possessions in Upper Italy; but he tempted her with the promise of Dalmatia and all the poor and rugged Illyrian provinces, hinting that they might be extended, both inland and along the sea-coasts, at the expense of Austria's ancient foe, the Ottoman empire. Spurning the contemptible bait, Metternich replied that things had come to that pass that Austria could no longer remain neutral; she must either be with France or against France. Such, however, was the awe in which some of the advisers of the European sovereigns still stood of the mighty means and military genius of the ruler of the French, that conferences for a peace were resumed at Prague, in Bohemia, Bonaparte engaging to prolong the armistice till the 10th of August; nor was the unmanly and now irrational diffidence fully dissipated until the news of Wellington's great achievement at Vittoria was carried through Europe and across the mountains of Bohemia. The diplomatists of the allied powers then

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sounded a higher note; the armistice expired on the 10th of August, and Austria joined the allies.

Months before the declaration of Austria the English government had sent very important aids into the north of Germany; it called upon his majesty's old and not unattached subjects the Hanoverians to rouse themselves into action and join the common cause; it furnished with a liberal hand money, arms, ammunition, stores, clothing, &c., not only to the Hanoverians, but to the Prussians, and also to the Swedes, who were about to commence operations from the southern shores of the Baltic. Lord Castlereagh's brother, Sir Charles Stewart (now Marquess of Londonderry), was despatched to the seat of war, charged, on the part of his sovereign, with all the correspondence relating to the Prussian, Swedish, and Hanoverian armies. Sir Charles had especial letters of authorization to Bernadotte; during the natural doubts and vacillations of that extraordinary Frenchman, that soldier of fortune and enthroned man of the revolution, he hardly ever quitted him. The Hanoverians flew to the arms which were offered to them by England with enthusiasm. In addition to our immense supplies of military stores, our government allotted 2,000,000*l.* sterling to sustain the operations of Bernadotte and his Swedish army, and 2,000,000*l.* more was given as a direct aid to Russia and Prussia. At the same time 500,000*l.* was granted to Russia, in order that she might give equipment and efficiency to her fleet. Upon these largesses Russia undertook to raise her force in the field to 200,000 men, and Prussia to raise hers to 100,000. Even now, but for English money and English credit, and the promptitude of our manufactories in producing arms and all the materials of war, the allies would have failed in their campaign.

A series of battles was fought about Dresden on the 24th, 25th, and 27th of August, between the Austrians and Prussians on one side and the French and their German and other auxiliaries on the other. Bonaparte was decidedly successful. But, in rashly pursuing the allies into the mountains of Bohemia, Vandamme, with a

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corps of 30,000 men, was cut off and surrounded, and was finally made prisoner at Culm, with about 8000 of his men. Oudinot was beaten at Gross Beeren by the Swedes and Prussians commanded by Bernadotte. Ney, who was sent to replace Oudinot, only succeeded to his misfortunes, being soundly beaten in the battle of Dennewitz, which was fought on the 6th of September, in the neighbourhood of Berlin. The Prussian Blücher, too, was now taking vengeance for all he had suffered in and after the campaign of Jena. On the Katzbach, in Silesia, he routed the French opposed to him, and dislocated Bonaparte's base of operations. The King of Bavaria now made a separate peace with Austria; the King of Saxony and ex-Grand-Duke of Warsaw was more steady, but his Saxon troops, like the rest of the German auxiliaries, began to desert from the French. At last, after a painful struggle between pride and necessity, Bonaparte turned his back to the allies, and began his retreat upon Leipzig with a dispirited army. He was closely followed by Russians, Austrians, Prussians, and Swedes. At Leipzig he determined to make a final stand. "Give me but one victory," said he, "and Germany may yet be saved!" He fought two bloody battles at Leipzig, but neither of them was a victory for him. On the 16th of October the first battle took place: it was fought gallantly on both sides, but the allies had now a great superiority in numbers, and the French were repulsed and driven close upon the ramparts of the city. On the 18th the second battle was fought: the French divisions soon lost ground, 10,000 Saxons raised the patriotic shout for Germany, left them in a body, and went over to the allies. After this nothing remained but flight; and even for flight it was too late an hour. Bonaparte made his dispositions to effect his retreat towards the Rhine; but, while his army was filing out of Leipzig, on the morning of the 19th, by a long narrow bridge, or rather a succession of bridges, the allies, after a desperate struggle with the French rear, burst into the town, and, the bridge being blown up to prevent the allies from pursuing those who had already passed over

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it, 25,000 Frenchmen, caught in the town as in a trap, were compelled to lay down their arms and surrender as prisoners of war. The retreat from Leipzig was almost as disastrous as the retreat from Moscow. The French army was completely disorganised. On the 1st of November Bonaparte was at Francfort. But he could find no rest at any place on German soil. At last he reached the Rhine, and passed over the 70,000 or 80,000 men, who were all that remained to him out of the army of 350,000 with which he had opened the campaign in the month of May. Having placed this fragment of the Grand Army on the left bank of the Rhine, he set out for Paris, where he arrived late on the evening of the 9th of November.

About 80,000 men whom Bonaparte had left behind him in Magdeburg, Stettin, Dantzic, and other Prussian fortresses, all surrendered to the allies, a little sooner or a little later. Dantzic held out the longest; but even that strong garrison capitulated on the 24th of December. In Paris the humbled conqueror found none but gloomy faces. Of a sudden the French had become weary of the trade of war. So long as victory and conquest followed the standard of their emperor, so long as the national vanity was elated, and the expense of the war supported by the countries into which it was carried, the great body of the nation could, with a wonderful facility, reconcile themselves to the tremendous loss of lives and of limbs; but defeat, reverse, disgrace quickened their domestic feelings, made them ask for their brothers and their children, and rendered, for the first time since the Revolution, the war odious in their sight. They had previously borne nearly twenty years of almost incessant war, and every year, every separate campaign, however glorious or successful, had witnessed the immolation of immense numbers; and all this they had borne with a light heart and with very little murmuring—*Nos enfans sont morts sur les champs de la victoire et pour la gloire de la France*;—but one single year of disaster had changed their tone, and now it was,—*Nos moyens, nos frères, nos enfans sont sacrifiés à l'ambition d'un tyran.*

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The suddenness of the change is, in itself, a full proof of its cause and origin. The legislative body, which had so long been timid and submissive, now ventured to murmur and remonstrate. Bonaparte rated them in his peculiar manner, and told them that France had more need of him than he had of France—that in three months all their enemies would be driven from their territories, or he would be dead.

Although some men had reappeared in their secret sessions, who both felt that the imperial throne was not worth three months' purchase, and who now wished its overthrow, the senators voted and decreed whatever was bidden. They had already passed a decree for a new conscription of 300,000 men, including all those who had escaped the conscriptions of former years; and they had nearly doubled the taxes. But the people were worn out by the tremendous sacrifices they had already made: their newly-found repugnance to the horrors of war continued, even to the evaporation of their patriotism.

Bonaparte had said before this, that, rather than give up Holland, he would sink it under the sea. But by this time nearly the whole of that country was freed from his intolerable dominion. Several previous attempts had been made; and at the beginning of the present year, when all the consequences of the Russian campaign were known, an extensive insurrection had been planned at Amsterdam in favour of the long-expelled Prince of Orange. This spontaneous and premature popular insurrection was quenched in blood. But when news arrived of Bonaparte's defeat at Leipzig, and of his ruinous retreat thence, the Amsterdam confederates and other bands of patriots resumed their labours. At first they proceeded with great caution and secrecy; but on the 15th of November, when a portion of the grand allied army was close upon their frontiers, the people of Amsterdam rose in a body, hoisted the Orange colours, and proclaimed the sovereignty of that House. The French authorities thought proper to quit the city. The confederates appointed the zealous Orangeist Count Styrum governor of the Hague in the name of the Prince of Orange; and

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the new governor issued a proclamation in the name of his prince announcing the happy change. So completely had the country been drained of its native troops and resources during the three years and a half that it had been annexed to France, that Count Styrum and the confederates could scarcely muster 1000 Dutch soldiers; and they had no arms, ammunition, accoutrements, military stores, artillery, or horses. They sent deputies over to London to tell the Prince of Orange that his nineteen years of exile were over, and to invite him back to assume the government. Favoured by wind and weather, this deputation reached the British capital, where they excited a fresh joy and exultation, on the 21st of November. By the 25th the Prince of Orange had embarked in a British man-of-war; and he proceeded to his native country with the assurances of the British government that every necessary aid should be given to him, whether in troops or arms, money or military stores. The prince entered the city of Amsterdam on the 1st of December. In their reverses the French committed many shameful outrages. Some of them fled into Belgium, but others threw themselves within the formidable walls of Bergen-op-Zoom. Measures were promptly adopted for the formation of a Dutch army; and within the short space of four months 25,000 men were raised, armed, and equipped.

The Swiss authorities had entered into a convention with the Austrian generals on the 19th of December, engaging to allow a free passage through Switzerland. Thus the eastern, as well as the southern and northern frontiers of France, were left open to the allies.

Our imperial parliament, assembling much earlier than usual, met and discussed this great crisis of the civilised world. On the 4th of November the session was opened by the prince regent in person. After a brief allusion to the king's continued indisposition, the speech from the throne passed to the subject of the great and splendid successes with which his majesty's arms and those of his allies had been blessed in the course of the present year. The speech was received with universal assent and joy; the voice of opposition was charmed into silence,

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or into open and hearty concurrence; so much unanimity had not been seen in parliament for a very long time; in both houses the addresses were carried without the slightest opposition. Lord Castlereagh, with a not unbecoming national pride, detailed some of the exertions which England had made in the course of the present year. When the grand campaign of the allies began in the North, every party was poor, and needed immediate supplies of money; the great arsenals and storehouses of Europe were still in the hands or under the control of the enemy. The British government had lost no time in supplying all wants. Independently of the glorious services of our own army in the Peninsula, independently of the direct aid that had been given to Spain and Portugal, indirect aid had been afforded to the Spanish and Portuguese armies, to a great extent. The aid which had been granted to Spain alone, during the last year, in money, stores, &c., amounted to about 2,000,000*l.* sterling. During the last two years, Portugal had received in the same way 2,000,000*l.* For Sicily, 400,000*l.* had been voted; for Sweden, who had well earned the money, 1,000,000*l.* There had been paid in subsidies to the great allied powers nearly 4,000,000*l.* Russia had received 2,000,000*l.*, which had enabled her to join the common cause with so immense an army; and the aid given to Prussia had enabled her to double the amount of the force for which she originally pledged herself, or to throw into the field 200,000 men. Austria, upon taking the field, had been accommodated with bills of credit of 1,000,000*l.* sterling, together with 100,000 stand of arms and a large quantity of military stores. In the mere article of small-arms, in addition to the great expenditure and waste of our own army, we had, in the course of the year, sent 500,000 muskets to Spain and Portugal, and 400,000 to other parts of the Continent, as subsidiary aid. Wherever a government or a people had stepped honestly forward, and had asked for assistance, it had been promptly given by England. This promptitude, and this display of our prodigious resources, which, after so many years of war, were found to be

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greatest, most matured, and best systematised when they were most needed, had encouraged the friends and dismayed the enemies of Britain. It was not to be supposed that the war, even now, could be terminated without further exertions on the part of England; nor would his lordship calculate that the expenditure of the next year would fall below the standard of this year. In round numbers he estimated the sum necessary for military expenses on the continent for the year 1814 at 10,000,000*l.*, namely, 4,000,000*l.* for the Peninsula, and 6,000,000*l.* for Germany, &c. During the year, the entire British force under arms, in all parts of the world, exceeded 230,000 men; yet, notwithstanding our heavy losses in the Peninsula and among the Pyrenees, the sacrifice of human life was but a small per centage on the whole.

It was resolved at the same time not to decrease, but rather to increase the naval forces of Great Britain; and that 140,000 seamen and 31,000 marines should be employed for the ensuing year. They had turned their attention rather tardily to that quarter; they had been obliged to send a very large fleet into the Baltic, and to scatter their ships in almost every sea, and in all the four quarters of the globe; but now ministers had adopted schemes for sweeping the American flag from the ocean.

The parliament had been assembled early, with a view to a long prorogation. It was, on many accounts, not advisable that a popular assembly should continue publicly debating the great question of war and peace during the last critical stages of the war; but what was of still more importance was, that ministers should be relieved, for a short season, from their parliamentary attendance and toils, and be so enabled to devote an exclusive attention to the last act or the last scenes of Bonaparte. The great business in hand was to terminate the war; there would be time enough to deal with other business afterwards, when men's minds would be less agitated. Upon the 26th of December Lord Castlereagh moved the adjournment of the house till the 1st of March, 1814; and a similar motion was made by ministers in the House of Lords. In both places some strong objections were

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taken. The ministerial motion was, however, carried in both houses without a division; and thus the government was enabled to devote its whole attention to the arduous task in hand.

A.D. 1814.—The last act of the drama was played off with wonderful rapidity. We shall adhere to the course we have lately followed, and give precedence to the operations in which Lord Wellington and the British army were immediately engaged, for these events appertain most to English history. The operations of this comparatively small army had lost none of their importance and not an atom of their glory, by being brought into comparison with the mightier masses of the allies gathered on the Rhine and the borders of Switzerland. Wellington and his army, moreover, were at the beginning of the year farther advanced on the soil of France than any of the allies. Instead of sending reinforcements, our government thought it proper to recall some of Wellington's battalions, with some of his best officers. Thus, at the close of 1813, they had recalled Sir Thomas Graham in order to send him into Holland, to take the command of the British forces gradually collecting there. They appear to have contemplated a still greater reduction of the noble little army which had revived all the lustre of our military fame, and given to it a new illustration; but, if they ever seriously entertained this unwise project, they yielded to the remonstrances, or rather to the plain, straightforward, unceremonious statement of facts made to them by our great captain.

As soon as his lordship could get his supplies, and could put his army in motion, he commenced a series of operations intended to drive Marshal Soult, not only from his entrenched camp under the walls of Bayonne, but also from all the country on the left of the Adour. Early in February, in spite of the badness of the weather and the roads, he, by a succession of brilliant movements and partial engagements, drove Soult before him, making him abandon the Bidasoa altogether, quit his entrenched camp and cross the Gave d'Oléron, an affluent of the Adour. On the 27th of February he fell upon the,

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marshal's army concentrated at Orthez, routed it, and pursued it to the banks of the Adour. On the 1st of March Wellington's head-quarters were at St. Sever, beyond the Adour. Through the victory of Orthez and this rapid advance, the French garrison in Bayonne was left to its own resources, and the high road to the important city of Bordeaux,—a city teeming with royalists and counter-revolutionists—was thrown open to the allies. Sir John Hope, with a division of the army, immediately invested Bayonne; and Marshal Beresford was detached with two divisions to occupy Bordeaux. On the arrival of Beresford the mayor and most of the inhabitants of Bordeaux, of their own accord, proclaimed Louis XVIII.

On the 18th of March Lord Wellington advanced his victorious army to Vic Bigorre, and Soult retreated to some good positions at Tarbes. It was thought that the French marshal would stand and fight a general battle here, but he did not, continuing, on the 20th, his retreat towards Toulouse, where he arrived on the 24th. The main object of Soult's movements was to facilitate a junction with Marshal Suchet, who, through the imbecility of King Ferdinand, and the want of activity and daring in Copons and the other Spanish generals in the East, had been allowed to withdraw 14,000 men from Catalonia, in addition to another force of from 8000 to 10,000 which he had previously detached into France. Seeing that nothing could be gained by keeping him, while there was a chance of gaining much by releasing him, Bonaparte ordered Ferdinand to be let loose from his pleasant prison-bower at Valençay, and whisked across the Pyrenees. The captive king reached Perpignan on the 22nd of March, and there absurdly agreed with Suchet to allow him to withdraw, not only the forces he had in the field, but also the garrisons he had in the fortresses of Catalonia, which garrisons were all blockaded by Spanish troops, and very near the capitulating point. But the Cortes had previously resolved that these garrisons should not be allowed to return to France with their arms; and they referred the question

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of the king's unwise agreement with Suchet to Lord Wellington, who declared, in the strongest manner, that the said garrisons in Catalonia, or any other French force whatsoever, ought to be allowed no capitulation, except on the condition of their being prisoners of war. From 15,000 to 18,000 Frenchmen were shut up in these garrisons; they were not conscripts, but for the most part veteran troops, with a spirit as yet unbroken by any decisive defeat; and, if Suchet could have united his whole force and have brought it to join Soult on the Garonne, the enemy must have been too strong for Wellington, whose forces were much weakened by the blockade of Bayonne and the occupation of Bordeaux. Suchet, however, had already detached 10,000 men into France, and he was finally allowed to move off with the 14,000 disposable men he had in the field. From the defiles of Catalonia, where he ought to have been crushed, or reduced to the plight of Dupont at Baylen, Marshal Suchet marched across the broad isthmus which joins France to the Pyrenees and to Spain; but it was the beginning of April before he reached Narbonne, and then he halted. He had still a very long march to perform before he could join Soult.

Soult, as we have seen, arrived at Toulouse on the 24th of March; on the 27th Wellington was close to him, in front of Toulouse; but the broad, deep, and rapid river Garonne flowed between them, the best passages were defended by French artillery, and the English pontoons and other means of carrying over troops, cannon, and stores, were very defective. It was therefore the 9th of April before Wellington got the allied army to the right bank of the Garonne. On the 10th was fought the bloody battle of Toulouse. Soult now occupied another entrenched camp of a very formidable description, on the eastern side of the city of Toulouse, on a range of heights between the river Ers and the great canal of Languedoc. He had redoubts and entrenchments, and tremendous *têtes de pont*, both on the river and on the canal, which must both be crossed by the allies. Although Bonaparte had made very large drafts upon Soult's army of the

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South, to strengthen his own army in Champagne, the marshal had pretty nearly an equality of numbers, while in artillery, he had a great superiority. According to the best calculation which has been made, Soult had not less than 42,000 men, while Wellington had in British, Germans, and Portuguese about 30,000, and in Spaniards about 15,000.

As day dawned on the morning of the 10th of April (it was Easter Sunday, the holiest of all Sabbaths, a day of peace and reconciliation, and the church-bells of the distant villages were calling the devout peasantry to matins and early mass) the columns of the allies began to move to their various points of attack, and to one of the fiercest and deadliest scenes that war can present. The French were driven from all their positions and entrenchments, one after another. Victory could not be gained upon such ground, and in the teeth of so many strong works, without great loss: 600 of the allies lay dead on the field, about 4000 were wounded. There is the usual difficulty in striking the balance of loss: Soult confessed to 3200 in killed and wounded; and, as his people had fought in good part under cover, and had not contended long after they had lost their redoubts, fortified houses and entrenchments, it is probable that his army suffered somewhat less than the allies. Before the hour of *Ave Maria* the allies were established on three sides of Toulouse, and the French were driven by Sir Rowland Hill from their exterior works in the suburb on the left of Garonne within the ancient walls of the town.

On the night of the 11th Soult evacuated Toulouse by the only road which was yet open to him, and retired by Castelnaudry to Carcassonne. He left behind him in the town 1600 wounded men, three generals (Harispe, Baurot, and St. Hilaire), various pieces of artillery, large quantities of ammunition, and stores of all descriptions. All these were taken by the allies. On the 12th Wellington entered Toulouse, to the infinite joy of the inhabitants, who were thus relieved from the dread of a siege. His lordship found the white flag of the

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Bourbons flying, and all the authorities and a large proportion of the inhabitants wearing white cockades and scarfs. And in the afternoon of that day the English Colonel Cooke and the French Colonel St. Simon arrived from Paris, with the news that the allies had entered the French capital, that a provisional government had been established in the name of Louis XVIII., and that Bonaparte had abdicated at Fontainebleau, as far back as the 4th of April, or six days before the battle of Toulouse was fought.

On the 14th of April, four days after Soult's defeat at Toulouse, General Thouvenot, who commanded in Bayonne, chose to make a desperate sortie upon the unprepared allies, who had received the intelligence from Paris, and who believed that the beleaguered French, who for some time had been very inactive, had the same information, and would feel the inutility and barbarity of shedding more blood for a cause that was now lost. The real state of affairs at Paris had been communicated to Thouvenot by General Sir John Hope the day before, and, judging of other men by his own generous nature, Hope evidently could not conceive that the French general could be capable of what must now be considered a base surprise, a savage spite, and a wilful shedding of blood. The investing forces were quiet in their positions and cantonments, and many of them were buried in sleep, and dreaming of a speedy return to their own countries, when the French, long before it was daylight, sallied from the citadel of Bayonne in great strength, rushed upon the village of St. Etienne, and upon the allied pickets in the centre, and gained some momentary advantages, bayoneting the surprised men, killing Major-General Hay, and wounding Major-General Stopford. Sir John Hope, ever foremost when there was danger, mounted his horse, and galloped up in the dark to direct the advance of more troops to the support of the pickets. He was presently surrounded, his horse was shot under him and fell, he received two very severe wounds, and before he could extricate himself from under his horse he was made prisoner. For some

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time the opponents could only distinguish each other's ranks by the flashing of the muskets. The fighting was very severe; but it was terminated by British bayonet charges: the French were driven back, the little ground which had been lost was all recovered, and by seven o'clock our pickets were re-posted on their original points. But between killed and wounded and taken, the allies had lost 800 men. It was, under the circumstances, scarcely a consolation to know that the French had suffered at the least as severely. This was the last affair of the war; but the battle of Toulouse was the last real battle, and the winding-up of Wellington's war-doings with Soult.

We now turn to the military operations in other parts of France. Of his old army the Emperor of the French had upon the Rhine no more than 70,000 or 80,000 men to oppose the allies, who advanced upon that frontier with 160,000 men, and who had numerous reinforcements coming on in rapid advance through Germany. The new conscription remained very unproductive, and such of the conscripts as were brought in, being for the most part beardless boys, were of small present value in war. From Italy not a man nor a musket could be drawn, for Murat had joined the allies, and, with the Austrians, was overpowering Eugene Beauharnais. No assistance was to be expected from any other part of Europe: since the overthrow of the Danes by Bernadotte, Bonaparte had ceased to have an ally. Some of his counsellors and advisers—some of the ex-Jacobins—spoke of the marvellous things which had been done by the population in 1792-3, when France was invaded by the Prussians, and recommended levies *en masse*. But he felt the difference which existed both in the spirit of the French people, and in the spirit and number of the allies (things altogether different now from what they were in the earlier days of the Revolution). He had always spoken contemptuously of popular risings; and had always adhered to the opinion that no insurgents, no levies in mass, could stand against regular armies, if those armies were not commanded by absolute fools or

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traitors. And his utterly despotic and military form of government had gone far to diminish the capability of of the population in this respect, and to break the springs of the national character. The people too, from the habit of long possession, had ceased to dread that the fruits of the Revolution would be torn from them; they no longer thought that the restoration of the Bourbons of necessity implied the restoration of church property and the property of the aristocracy—a dread which made a large part of the population rush to arms in 1792. Besides, Bonaparte detested any direct appeal to the people. On the 23rd of January he again conferred the regency on Maria Louisa. Poor Joseph, the fugitive ex-king of Spain, was named lieutenant of the Emperor in Paris. On the 25th of January the Emperor quitted Paris to put himself at the head of his army, which was now collecting in Champagne, in the plains of which the two armies of Schwartzenberg and Blücher were on the point of effecting their junction. It is not easy to estimate the actual force which Bonaparte headed at the end of January and the beginning of February. From the ingenious way in which French writers arrange their narratives, and suppress details about junctions and reinforcements, it is made to appear that Bonaparte contested the interior of France, and defended the approaches to his capital for two months, with only the 70,000 or 80,000 men whom he withdrew from the Rhine. But this is ridiculous. After deducting from the preposterously exaggerated French estimates of the numbers of the invaders, and after adding a great many thousands of men to their estimate of the force which Bonaparte opposed to the allies, the facts will still remain that their force, though far more scattered, was numerically far superior to his, and that the defence he made was brilliant, and even marvellous. The genius of the man seemed to revive in his despair. Now, too, he displayed, as he had done in his early Italian campaigns, the greatest intrepidity or fearlessness, exposing his person in nearly every affair, in the hottest fire, and in the closest and most terrible parts of the fight.

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Long before they approached the Rhine (on the 9th of November, 1813) the ministers of the allied powers put forth a diplomatic note declaring that the coalized sovereigns were unanimously agreed as to the weight and consequence which France, as a nation, ought to hold in Europe, and were ready to leave her in possession of what she called her natural limits—the lines of the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees. And nearly a month after this (on the 1st December, 1813), when Bonaparte had ordered a new levy of 300,000 conscripts, the allied powers issued at Frankfort a declaration or manifesto, repeating their offers of peace, upon condition that the French should remain quiet and satisfied with those natural limits, which were wider and enclosed more territory than had ever been possessed by any of the kings of France. Caulaincourt, who in 1805 had played so important a part in the seizure of the Duc d'Enghien, who was now Duke of Vicenza, and who had succeeded Maret, Duke of Bassano, as Bonaparte's minister for foreign affairs, was sent to the head-quarters of the allies, but without any conditions upon which they could treat. The sovereigns, however, agreed that a congress should be held at Chatillon-sur-Seine, where the representatives of Bonaparte might treat with their ambassadors, and settle, if possible, the firm basis of a peace. Though they now spoke somewhat less distinctly, they seemed still to offer "those natural limits," which France ought never to be allowed to possess. On the 5th of February, this congress commenced its deliberations at the place appointed. Russia was represented by the Count Rasomowski; Prussia, by the Baron Humboldt; Austria, by Count Stadion; England, by Lord Castlereagh; and France, by Caulaincourt.* These plenipotentaries continued to assemble and hold long and repeated conferences until the middle of March; the demands of the allies and the concessions of Bonaparte fluctuated according to the various turns and events of the campaign; but

* Lord Castlereagh was assisted by his brother, General Sir Charles Stewart (the present Marquess of Londonderry), and by Lords Aberdeen and Cathcart.

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during the whole of this period military operations were never for one moment suspended. At first the demands of Caulaincourt were very high; as his master lost ground in the field, his tone was lowered; but never, until the very last moment, when Bonaparte was absolutely vanquished, and when a vast portion of the French nation was declaring for the Bourbons, did Caulaincourt offer such concessions as would have reduced France to her proper dimensions.

Without alluding to the army of Lord Wellington, which had held its ground in the south for months, the northern and eastern frontiers of France were broken through, weeks before Bonaparte quitted Paris to take the field. Towards the end of December, Prince Schwartzenberg crossed the Rhine near Basle, and, traversing Switzerland with all the gentleness he had promised, invaded Alsace; other Austrians followed, crossing the Rhine near Basle and Schaffhausen; and some of the allies marched through Soleure, Berne, and Vaud to Geneva, and thence by the valley of the Rhone towards the great French city of Lyons. The Russian army of General Wittgenstein crossed the Rhine near Rastadt on the night of the 1st of January, and spread its pulks of Cossacks far into France. Blücher, defeating Marshals Marmont and Victor, threw his Prussians and the troops of the late Confederation of the Rhine across that river, at three different points lower down the river, between Coblentz and Mannheim. The French abandoned an entrenched camp and nearly all their fortresses on the left bank of the Rhine without a struggle; but, as most of these troops were kept together by marshals and officers of reputation, they must either have joined Bonaparte's army, or have assisted him by joining those detached corps which were scattered over a wide surface of country, to distract the attention of the allies or to secure communications. By the middle of January one-third of France was invaded.

Bonaparte's first great object in taking the field was to throw himself between the armies of Schwartzenberg and Blücher, to prevent their junction and defeat one of

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them before the other could get to his assistance. This was his old and unvaried plan of operation, and his rapidity and the nature of the country now rendered it, for a short time, rather successful.

On the 27th of January he gave the allies a check; on the 29th he beat Blücher at Brienne; and on the following day he attacked the Prussians again, and with some advantage at La Rothière: but on the 1st of February he was himself defeated with terrible loss at La Rothière, by columns of Prussians, Austrians, Russians, and Bavarians. On the 17th of February he gained some trifling advantage over Schwartzenberg near Nangis; for more than two months he held at bay the various armies of the allies; but the odds were too many against him. By a bold movement he placed himself in the rear of the allies; but the allies marched upon Paris, and after a hard-fought battle, on the 30th of March, took possession of the whole line of defence which protected that city on the north-eastern side. The empress had left it for Blois, and Joseph Bonaparte, after the battle of the 30th, quitted Paris also. Marshal Marmont, who had glided between the army of Schwartzenberg and the capital, made a faint attempt to defend the heights in front of Paris; but he was driven back under the walls of that city, and then asked for an armistice. This led to the immediate capitulation of Paris, which the Emperor Alexander and the King of Prussia entered on the 31st amidst the acclamations of the Parisians, and a wondrous waving of white handkerchiefs, and a shouting of *Vivent les Alliés! Vivent les Bourbons!* Bonaparte now came flying back to the relief of the capital; but he came too late: Paris was already in the undisturbed possession of the allies. Several of his old generals now told him the unpalatable truth that he ought to abdicate, as the conferences at Chatillon had been broken up, and as the allied sovereigns declared that they would no longer treat with him. He hurried into the gloomy old palace of Fontainebleau, which not long since had been the prison of the Pope, and shut himself up with his maddening reflections.

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Meanwhile the counter-revolution went on in Paris, and in other towns in France, at the charging pace. Many preparations had been made for it while he was contending against the allies in Champagne and in the valleys of the Seine and Marne. On the 21st of February the Comte d'Artois, who had been the first of the royal family to emigrate, arrived at Vesoul with the rear-guard of the grand allied army, and issued a proclamation, telling the French people that the day of their deliverance was at hand; that the brother of their king had arrived among them; that there should be no more tyranny, no more war, no more conscriptions; and this proclamation, being sent to Paris, had been printed at a private press, and pretty widely distributed. On the 12th of March the Duke of Angoulême had entered Bordeaux. On entering Paris the Emperor Alexander went straight to the mansion of M. de Talleyrand, and there, for the present, took up his abode. On the next day the King of Prussia, Prince Schwartzenberg, Prince Lichtenstein, Count Pozzo di Borgo, and some other generals and diplomatists of the allies, assembled in Talleyrand's house and opened conferences with him and the Emperor Alexander. There could no longer be any doubt as to the proper answer to be given to the question which had been so incessantly asked throughout Paris in the months of December and January—*Qu'en pense M. de Talleyrand?* Talleyrand now thought that it was the end of the end. He readily agreed with the allied sovereigns that it would be insanity to treat with Bonaparte, and that the best assurance of peace for Europe, and the greatest blessing for France, would be the immediate restoration of the Bourbons, with a mild and limited form of government. On the 1st of April, the senators assembled under the presidency of M. de Talleyrand, and proceeded, with a rapidity equalling that of some of their Emperor's late marches, to pronounce and decree that Napoleon Bonaparte, in consequence of sundry arbitrary acts and violations of the *Constitution*, and by his refusing to treat with the allies upon honourable conditions, had forfeited the throne and the right of in-

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heritance established in his family; and that the people and the army of France were freed from their oaths of allegiance to him. A provisional government was then formed, consisting of Talleyrand, Dalberg, Beurnonville, and some others. On the invitation of the provisional government, all the members of the *Corps Législatif* who chanced to be in Paris assembled in their House or Chamber on the 3rd of April, and assented to the decree of the senate. Marshals Ney, Berthier, Lefebvre, Oudinot, Macdonald, and Bertrand, waited upon Bonaparte. Ney, who was deputed to speak for them all, recommended an immediate abdication. Maret and Caulaincourt were present, and could not deny that this step was no longer a matter of choice. "Is this the advice of the generals?" said the fallen Emperor. "Yes, sire," replied Ney. "Is it the wish of the army?"—"Yes, sire," was Ney's answer. Bonaparte immediately retired and signed an act of abdication. In this first act, however, there was a reservation in favour of the rights of the empress and his son. By a second act, which was forced upon him by his marshals, the provisional government, and the allies, he renounced unconditionally for himself and his heirs the thrones of France and Italy. The Emperor Alexander proposed that he should retain the title of emperor, with the sovereignty of the Island of Elba, and a revenue of 6,000,000 of francs to be paid by France. This was agreed to by Prussia and Austria; and England, though no party to the original treaty, and not quite approving of it, afterwards consented to accede to it. On the 20th of April Bonaparte left Fontainebleau for his Mediterranean island. At Fréjus he embarked in an English frigate. It was on the 4th of May that the 'Undaunted' arrived at Porto Ferrajo, the humble capital of his miniature empire. On surveying his new dominions from the summit of one of the highest hills, whence the sea was visible all round him, it is said that he shook his head with affected solemnity, and exclaimed in a bantering tone, "*Eh! il faut avouer que mon ile est bien petite!*" But, if the allies had taken the map of the world, and had carefully studied it for

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the purpose of finding a place where the most dangerous of men should have the most opportunities of corresponding with his friends, both in France and Italy, and should have the best means and facilities for attempting new mischief, they could not have found a place so suitable as the island of Elba.

On May the 3rd, two days before Bonaparte made his solemn entry into Porto Ferrajo, poor Louis, who had been happier with his books and chosen friends in his English country-house, made his solemn entrance into Paris.

On the 30th of May the allied powers of Great Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia signed at Paris a treaty of peace and amity with France, as represented by her restored monarch. The treaty secured to France the integrity of its boundaries as they existed on January 1, 1792; and it even granted (in order to improve and strengthen these boundaries) certain augmentations of territory on the side of Germany, on the side of Belgium, and on the side of Italy. The contracting parties agreed that an increase of territory should be given to Holland; that the lesser German states should be independent, and united by a Germanic federal league; that Switzerland should continue to enjoy its independence under the government it had chosen; and that Italy (beyond the limits of the Austrian dominion, which was to be restored) should be composed of sovereign independent states. Of the two great stumbling-blocks, the Cape and Malta, which had been thrown in the way of previous negotiations with England, the Cape of Good Hope had been secured to the British crown by a separate treaty with Holland; and by this present treaty of Paris the island of Malta and its dependencies were admitted as belonging of right to Great Britain. But, on her part, Great Britain bargained and agreed to give back to France all the colonies, factories, &c., possessed by her in 1792, with the exception of Tobago, St. Lucie, and the Isle of France; and at the same time she bound herself to restore several islands and colonies to Spain, who was incapable of keeping them. Pondicherry was

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of course given back (to become, if time and accidents should serve, a *foyer* of intrigue, insurrection, and war); and France was to enjoy all the facilities of commerce with our Indian empire which the British government granted to the most favoured nations, only binding herself on her part not to erect any fortifications in the establishments restored to her in that country. Her former rights of fishery on the bank of Newfoundland, &c., were all to be restored as they were by the peace of 1783. Portugal, our ally, was to give up to France all that she held of French Guiana, &c. As the best test they could offer of their moderation, as the best proof they could give of the sincerity of their repeated declarations that they meant no ill to France, that they waged war not against the French people but only against Bonaparte, the allied powers agreed that their armies should evacuate the French territories, and that the French prisoners of war should all be restored as soon as possible. And by the beginning of June France was completely evacuated by the foreign armies, and left to manage her own affairs. As far as regarded France, the arrangements of this treaty of Paris were considered as final; but there remained to be made other settlements of the most extensive and complicated kind; the greater part of Europe required re-organization, and her past misfortunes and bitter sufferings demanded some preconcerted defences and guarantees for the future: and it was therefore agreed, in a special article of the treaty of Paris, that all the powers engaged in the late war should send plenipotentiaries to a congress to be holden at Vienna, for the object of completing the pacific dispositions of the present treaty, and of preventing, as far as human policy could, the recurrence of war and devastation.

A few words must suffice for the inferior and dependent operations of arms, and for the re-establishment of the old governments of the continent. First for Holland and Belgium:—Bernadotte, with a mixed army of Swedes and Germans, reached Cologne in Germany, and pushed forward some troops into Holland, to reduce

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some of the strong fortresses which the French still held, and to co-operate with the weak English force under Sir Thomas Graham. Several of these places surrendered upon summons; but, on the 7th of March, Graham, in attempting to carry by escalade and storm the formidable works of Bergen-op-Zoom, was repulsed with a lamentable loss. The French game was, however, up in that country; and the corps of General Winzingerode soon pushed forward into Belgium as far as the field of Waterloo. When Belgium was entirely freed from French troops, the country was left under the military government of the Austrian General Vincent; and at first it was imagined that the Emperor Francis would reclaim these old hereditary dominions of his house. But Austria had had quite enough of these distant and disconnected and generally discontented subjects; and had resolved to give up all Belgium rather than involve herself in fresh troubles by asserting her old sovereignty. The Belgians, if left to themselves, were far too weak to resist their neighbours the French; and therefore it was conceived by the allies that the best thing that could be done for Europe and for Belgium itself would be to unite that country to Holland, under the mild and constitutional government of the house of Orange. In the month of August the Sovereign of the Netherlands made his arrangements with the Prince Regent of England, resigning all the rights of the Dutch to the Cape of Good Hope, but getting back Demerara, Essequibo, Berbice, the immense island of Java, the rich island of Sumatra, and nearly every one of the colonies and settlements we had taken from them, whether in the West or East Indies, except the settlements in Ceylon.

The magnanimity which was shown to France was not extended to her weak ally Denmark. The conduct of that court nearly all through the war had been calculated to leave hostile feelings in the mind of England and of other powers. Denmark was to be punished for her obstinate adherence to Bonaparte, and Sweden was to be rewarded for the exertions she had made in the common

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cause at the critical moment. To bring the Frenchman Bernadotte into the field and to keep him there, the allies had promised to annex Norway to his dominions. The fortunate Gascon had himself pretty well secured the fulfilment of this promise by conquering a good part of Denmark in the autumn of 1813, and by imposing his own convention. A party among the Norwegians aimed at a separate independent Sovereignty, and offered some slight resistance; but at a general diet of the nation, a great majority voted (on the 20th of October) for the union of Norway with Sweden, with the proviso and condition that their constitution should be punctually observed.

As some continental gratification to the royal family of England and Hanover, their ancient home was somewhat enlarged, and raised to the titular dignity of a kingdom under the rule of his Britannic Majesty; but with the Salic bar to the succession when it should fall to a female.

While Murat had been co-operating with the Austrians under Marshal Bellegarde in driving Beauharnais out of Lombardy, Lord William Bentinck with a mixed armament of English, Sicilians, Calabrians, Greeks, Albanians, &c., had gained possession of Genoa, the French garrison having capitulated on the 18th of April. A few days after the departure of the Viceroy Beauharnais, who had been obliged to conclude a convention with the Austrians, Marshal Bellegarde took possession of Milan; and the Austrian General, Count Bubna, then marched into Turin, the capital of Piedmont, and declared the intention of the allies to restore that country and Savoy to the king of Sardina; and, on the 20th of May, his Sardinian majesty entered Turin, and established his government on the old basis. Not one member of the continental coalitions had adhered more steadily and faithfully to his engagements, or had suffered more severely from them. The allies had resolved that he should now receive some reward, and that the territories of the Genoese republic, which joined Piedmont, and which shut that fine and productive country from the

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sea, should be united to his dominions. Few, very few, of the Genoese complained of this at the time; and, in the course of a very few years, the last murmur of discontent had almost died away, the Genoese people having found that they, as well as the Piedmontese, were gainers by the incorporation. It would have been well for the future prospects of Italy if the king of Sardinia had gotten more, and the Emperor of Austria had gotten less. In addition to his old possessions in Lombardy, Francis laid his hand upon Venice, which had only been his for a short period, and by virtue of a foul treaty with France, and upon other cities and states which had never been his at all, as Brescia, Cremona, Guastalla, Parma, Piacenza, &c. Having then nothing to hope from his further detention, Bonaparte had, on the 22nd of January, sent an order to Fontainebleau that the Pope should leave that place the next day and return to Italy. Pius VII. set off accompanied by an escort, and was taken by slow journeys back to his native country; where he was received by all the populace and by the devout Catholics of all classes with rapturous joy.

Murat, agitated by doubt and dread, suspecting his new ally Austria, and knowing that he was suspected by her, distrusting most of his Neapolitan generals, and alarmed at the Carbonari, who were crying for a constitution, and at the plots and movements of the royalists, who were calling for the restoration of King Ferdinand, returned rather hastily to Naples, withdrawing his garrison from the Castle of St. Angelo at Rome, but reinforcing his garrison at Ancona, and leaving some of his troops beyond the frontiers of the States of the Church. On the 24th of May, the Pope made his solemn entrance into Rome, and restored the old ecclesiastical government. The popular joy was ecstatic.

Few of these restored governments were good, but that of Spain was the worst of them all, though probably not worse than the regimen of the Spanish Cortes and Liberales would have been, if circumstances and the temper of the army and people had allowed them to continue in possession of their power. Between them and the royal-

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ists and religious bigots it was a question of force, and the bigots and the royalists proved the stronger. On the night of the 11th of May, General Eguia, a fierce royalist, seized all the liberal members of the Cortes that he could find in Madrid, and threw them into prison. The whole body fell helpless, unresisting, and unlamented by the people. On the 12th of May Ferdinand entered his capital, and was received with demonstrations of popular joy and enthusiasm, inferior in degree only to what had been displayed by the Italian peasantry and the populace at Rome on the arrival of the Pope.

The legislative measures of this short parliamentary session are of little historical importance. The budget of the year was laid before the House of Commons on the 13th of June. The whole amount of supplies exceeded 75,600,000*l.* The session was closed on the 30th of July by the prince regent in person. The autumnal session presented no matter of great interest. It was opened on the 8th of November by the speech from the throne, which was again delivered by the regent in person; and on the 2nd of December the Houses adjourned till the 9th of February next. In the month of August the Duke of Wellington proceeded to Paris as ambassador of Great Britain to Louis XVIII.

A.D. 1815.—The great Congress of Vienna began to assemble at the opening of the year; and in the month of January the Duke of Wellington repaired thither. Our parliament re-assembled in February. The opposition, which had already expressed a strong and indignant disapprobation of the forcible transfer of Norway from Denmark to Sweden, now censured with equal severity the annexation of the worthless republic of Genoa to the dominions of the King of Sardinia. Parliament had got over these matters, and was discussing subjects of home policy, regulating the reduction of the militia, &c., as if all fears of war were over, when England and Europe were startled, as at a thunder-clap, by the intelligence that Bonaparte had escaped from his narrow insular empire to repossess himself of his old French empire. An address to the regent was carried in both Houses without

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any division upon it; and the nation at large felt as strongly as parliament that nothing was left for England to do but to draw the sword again, and never sheathe it until Bonaparte should be consigned to some safer place than Elba. The parliament continued sitting till the battle of Waterloo falsified the sinister prophecies of those who had voted against the new war, because it would be as long as the last. Subsidies, or aids in money given under other names, were voted to a large amount, and the budget of the year was raised to very nearly 90,000,000*l.*

The astounding news of the flight from Elba was announced to the diplomatists of Europe sitting in congress at Vienna by Talleyrand. There was no hesitation there as to what was to be done. The representatives of the allied sovereigns immediately agreed to join their forces again, in order to frustrate Bonaparte's attempt, and to maintain entire the treaty of Paris. On the 13th of March the ministers of the eight powers assembled at Vienna, including the ministers of the King of France, signed a paper, by which they declared Napoleon Bonaparte an outlaw, a violator of treaties, and a disturber of the peace of the world, and delivered him over to public vengeance (*vindicte publique*). It was very soon agreed that England should furnish 125,000 men, Austria 300,000, Russia 225,000, Prussia 236,000, the various states of Germany 150,000, and Holland afterwards agreed to furnish 50,000. On the 23rd of March, Austria, Russia, Prussia, and Great Britain, concluded the treaty of Vienna, by which they bound themselves to make no separate peace, and to conclude neither cessation of hostilities nor any convention whatever, except by general consent. On the morning of the 29th of March, four days after signing this treaty, the Duke of Wellington left Vienna, in order to examine the military state of affairs in Belgium, which country, as of old, was quite sure to be the first battle-field. He arrived at Brussels on the night of the 4th of April; and, rapidly as he had travelled, he had found time to observe the condition and spirit of several bodies of the allied armies.

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The essential points of the famous escapade from Elba are soon told. If Bonaparte had ever gone thither with the intention of stopping, he had changed his mind in a very short time. He had not been one month in the island ere he commenced a secret but most active correspondence with his friends both in France and Italy. This correspondence became still more active as his friends and agents reported to him the return of the French prisoners of war from Russia, Poland, Prussia, Saxony, England, Spain, &c., and related that the temper of these veterans was unchanged, that their devotion to glory and to their emperor was as great as ever. Several of these returned prisoners, men as well as officers, passed over from time to time to Elba, to offer their services to enter his guard, and to speak of the attachment of their comrades to their old chief, and of their contempt for the Bourbon king, who could not mount a horse, and who was a great discourager of the military profession, as he wanted nothing but peace. From the day of his departure there had been an incessant activity among his partisans both in France and Italy. He wrote to Murat, who was still powerful and still a king, to tell him that the lion was not dead, but only sleeping! Murat prepared for the *réveiller*. This brave dragooner had no political steadiness or courage; he conceived that his brother-in-law must prove the stronger in the new contest, and he engaged to march against his recent allies the Austrians, in the plains of Lombardy.

It was on the 26th of February, 1815, that Napoleon embarked with a body of about 1000 men, composed of some of his old guards who had followed him to Elba, of some Italians and Elbese, some Corsicans and others, comprising about 200 dragoons and about 100 Polish lancers, with saddles, but without horses. On the 1st of March he landed at Cannes, a short distance from Fréjus. The Provençals neither welcomed him nor attempted to oppose him. There were no king's troops in the neighbourhood. He hurried through Provence, into Dauphiny, "the cradle of the Revolution:" and there the people began to flock round his standard. Still no troops joined

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him, and he felt uneasy. It was at Grenoble that the first defection in the army took place: Colonel Charles Labédoyère, who had been promoted by Louis XVIII., and who was now in command of the 7th regiment of the line, joined the emperor. The rest of the march to Paris was a triumphant one: the Bourbons were abandoned by the whole army. Marshal Ney, who was sent by King Louis to stop the emperor's progress, and who had sworn that within a week he would bring Bonaparte to Paris in an iron cage, went over to him with his entire force. On the 19th of March, Bonaparte slept in the old Palace of Fontainebleau; and at midnight the king fled from the Tuileries for the fortified town of Lisle, near the Belgian frontier. At half-past nine, on the night of the 20th, Bonaparte, with his grey great coat, stepped from his carriage into the Tuileries; a number of generals and officers took him on their shoulders, and carried him up to the state-apartments, while the soldiery and a part of the mob rent the air with cries of "*Vive l'Empereur!*"

Thus far all had seemed to go well; but the triumph was soon damped. It was impossible not to see that, with the exception of some of those faubourg mobs which he hated and feared, the people of Paris were silent, lukewarm, cautious, or averse. Then came brother Lucien, with his tail of constitutionalists and liberals, including Carnot and *Fouché*, protesting that the promises and pledges he had given must be kept, that the French people must have more liberty than they had enjoyed under the Empire or under the Restoration, that France could no longer do without a free constitution, and, finally, that the liberals would do nothing for him unless he granted a new constitution. Bonaparte said that there would be time for making a good constitution hereafter, when he should have dissolved by victories the European confederacy against him; that now every thought ought to be given to the means of raising money and troops, the casting of artillery, the manufacturing of arms, ammunition, &c. But the liberals stuck to their point; the constitution must come first, their exertions in his cause afterwards: and, accord-

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ingly, though sorely against his will, Bonaparte proclaimed a sort of constitution, under the very unpromising title of *Acte Additionnel aux Constitutions de l'Empire.*" On the 4th of June, three days after Bonaparte, his great officers of state, marshals, generals, &c., had taken their oaths to this constitution at a grand celebration, called a Champ de Mai, but held in the Champ de Mars, and in the month of June, the two new Chambers opened their session. The Chamber of Peers, appointed by the emperor himself, and composed principally of men who owed their rank and fortune to him, at first seemed disposed to be as submissive as the senate had formerly been. The Chamber of Representatives showed at once a very different disposition, raising the voice of criticism and censure which the man of the people had never been able to bear. Their session was a very short one; and the first serious business the two Houses or Chambers did was to pronounce the dethronement of Bonaparte. After eleven weeks' sojourn in the capital, matters stood with him much as they did when he arrived; he could count confidently on the devotion and bravery of his old army, but he could not hope that the rest of France would do much for him. His distress, or doubts, were increased by the dismal news which came howling to him from beyond the Alps. Murat, instead of waiting for his *mot d'ordre*, had thrown off the mask as soon as he learned the departure from Elba, had rushed towards Upper Italy like a madman, had been beaten by the Austrians, abandoned by his own army, and put to an ignominious flight from his kingdom of Naples, many weeks before Bonaparte was ready to commence operations on the frontiers of Belgium.

On the night of the 11th of June, just a week after the opening of the two chambers, Bonaparte quitted Paris to open the campaign. His countenance, which had long been clouded, brightened as he sprung into his travelling-carriage, and as he said, or as he is reported to have said, "*Je vais me mésurer avec ce* Villainton"—(I am going to measure myself with this Wellington).

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He had assembled an army of about 125,000 men, chiefly veteran troops, of whom 25,000 were cavalry, and 350 pieces of artillery. With this force he crossed the Belgian frontier on the 15th of June, and on the very next day the stern conflict began.

In the meantime the Duke of Wellington had raised his force in the field to about 76,000 men, of whom not near one-half were British. The duke's head-quarters were at Brussels, the capital of the country, which it was Bonaparte's first object to gain. On the duke's left lay Marshal Blücher with the Prussian army, estimated (after the junction of Bülow's corps) at about 80,000 men. Blücher's head-quarters were at Namur. The two armies were, of necessity, far apart, spread over a wide extent of country. Besides bye-roads, Bonaparte had no fewer than four great paved roads by which he could make his advance upon the British; and, until he had chosen his road, it was impossible for Wellington to tell which road he would choose: but the charge that the duke was not only out-manœuvred and out-generalled, but actually taken by surprise, is an ignorant piece of babble. Ney, Soult, and Grouchy held commands under their emperor.

On the 16th of June Bonaparte in person attacked Blücher, who was now posted at Ligny, and drove him back with great loss; and on the same day he sent Ney against part of the English army at Quatre-Bras, which, after sustaining a severe attack, retained possession of the field. The two great battles fought on this day were only preludes to the greater massacre at Waterloo; yet at Ligny Blücher had lost, in killed and wounded, from 11,000 to 12,000 men, and Wellington had lost at Quatre-Bras 2380 in wounded, and 350 in killed. In the morning of the 17th the Duke of Wellington fell back with his army to his chosen position of Waterloo. Bonaparte, with Ney, followed him, after despatching Grouchy with 32,000 men to follow the retreat of Blücher. The night of the 17th, during which Wellington's men lay upon the wet earth, or among the dripping corn-fields, was a dreary night with heavy rain,

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thunder and lightning. They longed for the morrow. It came at last; but Sunday, the 18th of June, was but a dull day (meteorologically); for, though the rain ceased, and the natural thunder gave place to a thunder of artillery almost as loud, and far more continuous, the sky was overcast with clouds, through which the sun rarely broke.

Soon after 10 o'clock on this Sabbath morn the French began the battle of Waterloo with infantry, cavalry, and artillery. Wellington's force united in this position, now amounted to 67,661 effective men, with 160 guns: of this allied army about 24,000 were British, and about 6000 of the king's German Legion; the rest was composed of Hanoverian, Brunswick, Belgian, Dutch, and Nassau troops: many of these troops, British as well as foreign, had never been under fire before this campaign; some of them were little better than raw recruits; the prime of the British army of the Peninsula had been sent to America. Bonaparte's force at the commencement of the battle was 71,947 men and 246 guns, and these troops were veterans almost to a man. There was no manœuvring either on the part of Bonaparte or on the part of Wellington: the object of the British general was to maintain his positions till the arrival of some Prussian corps should enable him to quit them and crush his enemy; the object of his adversary was to drive him from those positions, and to crush him before Blücher should be able to send a single battalion to his support. And to this end Bonaparte kept repeating his attacks with heavy columns of infantry, with a numerous and brilliant cavalry, and with his immense artillery. From each attempt his columns returned shattered and thinned; but fresh columns were formed, and hurled against the same or some other part of Wellington's line. The repulses were numerous, the glimpses of success brief and few. The *coup de grace* was hastened by a magnificent charge of British cavalry. By this time the French cavalry was almost totally destroyed, and except the guards, every part of that army had been engaged, repulsed, and fearfully

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thinned. Not a point of the British position had been carried, not a single square had been broken; and, though our loss in killed and wounded had been great, some of the duke's troops had not been engaged at all. Such was the state of the battle at about seven o'clock in the evening, when General Bülow's Prussian corps came up and began to engage upon the French right. And now was the crisis. Bonaparte called forward his Guard, which he had kept in reserve, to make a last desperate effort on the British left centre, near the farm of La Haye Sainte. He led it forward in person to the foot of the allied position; but there he turned aside, and took shelter behind some swelling ground: the guard moved onward and left him there. He ought to have gone on with it, and to have died with it; but he neither headed it nor followed it. Marshal Ney went on with that great forlorn hope, and, unluckily for himself, was not killed. The guard advanced in two massy columns, leaving four battalions of the Old Guard in reserve, or near to the spot where Bonaparte sat on his horse rigid and fixed like a statue. They moved resolutely on, with supported arms, under a destructive fire from the British position. They were met by General Maitland's brigade of English guards, and General Adams's brigade, which were rapidly moved from the right, and over the brow of the position by the Duke of Wellington in person, who formed them four deep, and flanked their line by artillery. When within fifty yards from this British line, the French guards attempted to deploy; but the close fire upon them was too terrible; their flanks were enveloped by some of our guards; they got mixed together in a confused mass; in that mass they were slaughtered; they were broken; they gave way down the slope of the hill in irretrievable confusion. There was no more fighting; that Grand Army of Bonaparte—the last of all, and the most desperate of all—never again stood, nor attempted to rally anywhere: all the rest of the work was headlong, unresisted pursuit, slaughter of fugitives who had entirely lost their military formation, and capture of prisoners, artillery, and spoils. The army was destroyed, as an

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army, before the pursuit began: its organization was lost with the defeat of the Guard: if it had not been so, the pursuit by the Prussians could not possibly have been such easy duty—there could not have been so perfect a *débâcle*. In the retreat, and in the three battles they had fought within three days, the French lost in killed and wounded more than 30,000 men; but, what was of still more importance, their spirit was beaten out of them, and that army was indeed too thoroughly broken up ever to join again.

In the meanwhile the British and their allies, by the broad moonlight, were counting their dead and picking up their wounded. The loss had been immense, and in some corps almost unprecedented. The British and Hanoverians alone had 2432 killed and 9528 wounded in the battle of Waterloo. These numbers being added to the losses sustained at Quatre Bras on the 16th, make a total of near 15,000 men put *hors du combat*, in an army of about 36,000 men! If we deduct some 4000 or 5000 men of this army who were not actually engaged in either of the two battles, we shall find that one-half of this army was killed or wounded. The loss in officers was quite proportionate to the loss in men; more than 600 officers, British and Hanoverians, were killed or wounded at Waterloo alone.

The first man that carried to Paris the news of his irretrievable disaster was Bonaparte himself. Leaving his brother Jerome on the frontier to try and rally some of the remains of the army, he flew to the capital, where he arrived during the night of the 20th, to find that his chamber of representatives was now far more hostile to him than the *corps législatif* had been on his flight from Leipzig. His first thoughts were how he could break up the constitution he had sworn to on the 1st of June; how he could get rid of the two chambers, and to seize the absolute and undivided power of a dictator. The chambers, anticipating his blows, declared their session permanent, and demanded his abdication. Napoleon signed an act of abdication, in favour of his son Napoleon II., on the 22nd of June; and he determined to

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abide by it, or at the least to give up a hopeless struggle. He knew that the armies of all Europe were marching against him; that, while Wellington and Blücher were on the north-eastern frontier, the Austrian General Frimont was marching through Switzerland and Savoy to attack on that frontier, that Prince Schwartzenberg was now ready to pour enormous forces across the Rhine, and that the Emperor Alexander was not far off with 200,000 Russians. The allies could have put 800,000 men into France before the end of the month of July! After his abdication Bonaparte retired to Malmaison, where his wife Josephine had died. The Chamber of Peers set up a provisional government, consisting of Caulaincourt, Quenett, Grenier, Carnot, and Fouché—a most strange jumble of men and principles. Fouché, who had ten times more craft, cunning, and ability than all his four colleagues put together, had seen clearly, ever since the battle of Waterloo, that the restoration of the Bourbons was an inevitable necessity; and he shaped his course accordingly. This strange provisional government, which assumed to itself all the powers of France, must have been more hateful and humiliating to the fallen emperor than all the rest of his disgraces; yet still he lingered at Malmaison for nearly a whole week, and until the advance of Wellington and Blücher rendered his further stay impossible.

The British and Prussian armies met with hardly any the feeblest resistance on their march upon Paris. On the 1st of July, Wellington took up a position a few short miles from the capital, with his right upon the heights of Richebourg, with his left upon the Forest of Bondy. Blücher crossed the Seine at St. Germain as Wellington advanced; and on the 2nd of July the right of the Prussian army was at Plessis-Piquet, its left at St. Cloud, and its reserve at Versailles. On the 2nd of July the so-called army of Napoleon II. offered some resistance to old Blücher; and there was even some hard fighting on the heights of St. Cloud and Meudon and in the village of Issy; but the country people remained neutral, and the Prussian corps of General Ziethen sur-

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mounted every obstacle. On the 3rd of July, at day-break, the French renewed the attack, and attempted to recover the village of Issy; but they were repulsed with considerable loss. No attempt was made to check the approaches or molest the positions of the British. The provisional government and Marshal Davoust now yielded to necessity, and to the terms which the Duke of Wellington had proposed to their commissioners three days before, with this important addition, that the city of Paris, the heights of Montmartre, and all its other defences, were to be put quietly in the possession of the British and Prussian armies. Officers accordingly met on both sides at St. Cloud; and on that night a *military* convention was concluded by three French officers, one English officer, and one Prussian officer; and on the following day it was approved by the Duke of Wellington, by Marshal Blücher, and by Davoust, who acted on the part and in the name of the French army, and the ratifications were exchanged. On the same day, and almost before his signature to the deed was dry, the duke wrote to his government, "This convention decides all the military questions at this moment existing here, *and touches nothing political.*" The French troops, as by this agreement bound, had all evacuated Paris by the 6th, and had begun their march towards the Loire. Labédoyère is said to have gone with them, or to have followed them beyond the Loire. But Marshal Ney fled from Paris in disguise on the 6th, with a passport, given to him by Fouché, under a feigned name. This is proof enough that Ney did not consider himself included in the convention or capitulation.

On the 7th of July the British and Prussian armies took possession of Paris, without any outward or visible sign of that *beau désespoir* with which they had been so often menaced. The English established themselves in the Bois de Boulogne, where they formed an encampment; the Prussians occupied some of the streets and along the quays on the Seine. On the 8th, Louis XVIII. re-entered Paris, escorted by the National Guard. The allies having refused to acknowledge Bonaparte's right to

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abdicate in favour of his son, the Bourbons immediately resumed the government. By the advice or command of Fouché and his provisional government, Bonaparte repaired to Rochefort, where he was to embark for the United States. General Becker had been sent to escort him to the coast, apparently with orders not to allow him to escape to the country beyond the Loire, or to remain long in any part of France. At Rochefort the fallen conqueror saw that the country was tranquilly submitting to the Bourbons, and that the sea, covered with English squadrons and cruisers, offered him no chance of escape to America. The 'Bellerophon' ship of the line, Captain Maitland, and some of our frigates, were in the roads. There were two or three small armed French vessels in port; but their officers told him that they could neither fight nor escape from the English ships. He then bargained with a Danish merchant-vessel, and devised how he might conceal himself in the hold of that craft; but the honest Danish skipper—who might have taken his money, have led him alongside one of our cruisers, and have safely abided the consequences—told him that concealment would be impossible if the English searchers boarded; and this hopeless project was given up. He then talked of making a still more desperate essay—of attempting to cross the Atlantic in a *chasse-marée*, or small coasting-vessel; but this, too, was given up, on the representation of the sailors. That such dangerous projects were ever entertained for a moment is, by itself, proof enough of the worth of the assertion that Bonaparte voluntarily sought the shelter of the British flag, not merely in the hope, but in the confident expectation that he should be allowed to reside in England, free as any English subject, and under the protection of our laws. He went on board the English ship because he could go nowhere else, and because he could not have safely stayed many hours longer where he was; he went on board the English ship because every other plan and hope had failed him. On the 10th of July he sent off Las Cases and his evil satellite Savary with a flag of truce to the 'Bellerophon.' Loaded with the blood of

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the Duc d'Enghien, Savary dreaded more than any of them the being arrested and delivered up to the Bourbons. Captain Maitland replied, "That his instructions forbade him this, but that if Napoleon chose to proceed to England, he would take him there on board the 'Bellerophon,' without, however, entering into any promise as to the reception he might meet with there, as he was in total ignorance of the intentions of the British government as to his future disposal." This offer was made by Captain Maitland, in his second interview with Las Cases, on the 14th of July; but Napoleon had already the day before written a letter addressed to the Prince Regent of England, saying, that "he came, like Themistocles, to claim the hospitality of the British people, and the protection of its laws." Captain Maitland offered to dispatch General Gourgaud to England with this letter immediately, repeating at the same time to him "that he was not authorised to stipulate as to the reception of Bonaparte in England, where he must consider himself at the disposal of the prince regent." On the 15th Bonaparte went on board the 'Bellerophon' with his suite, saying to the captain as he put his foot on the quarter-deck, "I come to place myself under the protection of your prince and your laws." On the 24th the ship entered Torbay. On the 31st Admiral Lord Keith and Sir Henry Bunbury, under secretary of state, arrived from London to announce the final resolution of the British government,—that the island of St. Helena should be the future residence of *General* Bonaparte. He protested vehemently against this determination, saying that he was not a prisoner of war,—that he had come of his own free will on board the Bellerophon,—that he wished to be allowed to remain in England as a *private citizen*. On the 6th of August, however, he acknowledged to Captain Maitland, that "he had certainly made no conditions on coming on board the 'Bellerophon,' that he had only claimed hospitality, and that he had no reason to complain of the captain's conduct, which had been that of a man of honour." On the 7th Napoleon removed from the 'Bellerophon' to the 'Northumberland,' Sir George

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Cockburn's flag-ship, which was appointed to carry him to St. Helena. He landed on that island on the 16th of October, and died there on the 5th May, 1821. He died of the same disease which killed his father, namely a schirrus in the pylorus. As far back as the year 1802, the symptoms of this hereditary disorder had been observed. Some of the worst symptoms of the disease had shown themselves in an entire derangement of the stomach and digestive organs during the Russian campaign, and afterwards at the time of the battle of Leipzig. Upon opening the body the cause of death was made apparent —a large ulcer spread over a great part of the stomach.

The faults committed, or allowed to be committed, by the Bourbons at the Restoration of 1814 did not include any over-severity, or cruelty, or bloodshed; and, if we consider the wrongs which the family had suffered, or the execrable barbarities which had been practised upon some members of that unfortunate family, including the Duchess of Angoulême, who had survived them, and who now returned to Paris, it must be confessed that the abstinence from vengeance was altogether astonishing. Many of the members of the National Convention, who, in defiance of all law, had voted the deaths of Louis XVI., Marie Antoinette, and the Princess Elizabeth, were living in France, and were left to live there undisturbed. Many notorious scoundrels who had played the part of gaolers and tormentors in the Temple were permitted to live in Paris: not one was brought to the scaffold, not one was transported, hardly one was exiled. All who had acquired titles, honours, estates, and by whatsoever means, were allowed to retain them without enquiry or question. It was the first time that a revolution, or a counter-revolution, had happened in France without being followed by torrents of blood. At the restoration of 1815 it was deemed necessary to be more severe, but even now the severity was very limited. In order to render their resistance the more desperate, Labédoyère and others had talked among the Bonapartists of an interminable list of proscriptions, of the guillotine *en permanence*, as in the Reign of Terror! Yet when the

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avenging royal ordinance was published (on the 24th of July) it was found to contain only fifty-seven names; and of these only nineteen were threatened with capital punishment or trial before a military tribunal. The first name on the black list was that of Ney; the second was that of Labédoyère. In the lighter part of the list were the names of Soult, Carnot, Vandamme, &c.; they were merely ordered to quit Paris within three days, and retire into the interior of France, to places to be indicated to them, where they were to remain under inspection until the Chambers should decide which of them ought either to depart the kingdom or be delivered up to legal prosecution. It was explained that such of these individuals as should be condemned to exile should be allowed to sell their property in France, and freely carry the proceeds with them. Labédoyère and Ney were the only two that suffered death.

Nearly two months before Ney was shot in the garden of the Luxembourg Palace, Murat, a kinder and better man, was shot in the court-yard of a filthy Calabrian castle. He had landed upon that coast on the 8th of October with twenty-eight men, with the mad design of recovering his kingdom. He was presently surrounded by the people of Pizzo, knocked down, wounded by ball and dagger, gashed in the head and face, lacerated, tortured, and then thrown into prison to abide the vengeance of the Bourbon king Ferdinand. He fell on the 13th of October, in the forty-fifth year of his age.

Terrible reports had been spread by the Bonapartists as to the intentions of Russia, Austria, and Prussia towards their unhappy and *betrayed* country. At one time it was confidently reported that the Congress of Vienna, which continued sitting, had determined to disannex from France not only the whole of Alsace, but also the whole of Lorraine and of Franche Comté. At length the Congress of Vienna settled the conditions: treaties and conventions were signed at Paris by Louis XVIII. on the 20th of November. The allies took no territory from France, and made none but the most trifling alterations in her frontier lines. But, in order to

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retain a powerful hold upon France during a season of probation, they determined to keep temporary possession of seventeen of the frontier fortresses for a term not exceeding five years, and which circumstances might reduce to three years; and to maintain in these fortresses and in other parts of the kingdom an army of allied troops not greater than 150,000 men, to be paid and supported by France. The allied sovereigns also exacted payment at least for some of the enormous expenses they had incurred; but they limited their demand to the narrow period of the Hundred Days, and fixed the total sum, to be divided among all of them, at 700,000,000 of francs. Nor was France to pay this very limited contribution at once, or even at short intervals, but in easy instalments. She was, however, made to regorge some of the plunder she had accumulated during her career of conquest: the pictures, the statues, the rare manuscripts, which had been lodged in the museum in the Louvre, were now at last returned to Italy, Belgium, Germany, Spain, and Portugal.

Other sums of money were subsequently exacted from France, but the burthen of supporting the 150,000 men was reduced to the lowest limit. As a new French army was organised, upon which Louis XVIII. considered that he might rely, 30,000 of the allies, or one-fifth of the whole army, were withdrawn in the year 1817, although only two years had yet elapsed; and it was determined that the whole of that occupying army should be withdrawn as soon as *three* years were completed. But the French were made to pay some indemnities for the spoliations inflicted on their neighbours during the revolution, and indemnities to some states for the expenses of the war. These conjoint amounts made up another 700,000,000 of francs, or 28,000,000*l.* sterling, or thereabouts; and there were some other items which may have carried the whole sum to be paid by France, by instalments, for the bloody freak of the Hundred Days, to about 60,000,000*l.* sterling. England, satisfied with the discharge of the private claims of her subjects upon the French government, gave up her public

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share of the indemnities, which amounted only to some 4,000,000*l.* or 5,000,000*l.*, to the King of Holland and the Netherlands, to assist him in restoring and repairing that great barrier of fortresses, which had been devised by our own great Dutch-born king, William III., to check the power of France on that side.

In the course of the year 1815, before any sums could be procured from the government of Louis XVIII., the British government was obliged to send still more money to the allied sovereigns, whose then enormous armies must otherwise have lived at large on the French people, or on the peoples through whom the retiring portions of them had to march; and it was the grant (we believe in some cases it was idly called *loan*) of 4,000,000*l.* or 5,000,000*l.* of English money that smoothed many difficulties, and forwarded the homeward march of 650,000 men.

During the same most eventful of years, the sovereignty of Great Britain was extended over the whole of the island of Ceylon; and a period was put to that miserable episode, the American war.

The American successes at sea, such as they were, may be said to have closed with the year 1812, or with the first year of the war. Some larger and more suitable British frigates were sent out, and in every action which followed, where there was anything like an equality of force, the Americans were beaten without much difficulty; and, wherever the superiority of force lay on our side, they were beaten with perfect ease. The most memorable of these frigate fights was that which was fought on the 1st of June, 1813, between the 'Shannon' and the 'Chesapeake.' It lasted fifteen minutes, only eleven of which were spent in firing, and it was terminated by the English boarding and capturing the American ship. All the circumstances are known to every Englishman. It was a battle upon challenge, sent into Boston harbour by the captain of the 'Shannon,' the gallant Broke; it was a battle where the ships were equally matched, or rather where there was a slight superiority of force on the side of the Americans; it was

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a battle fought within sight of the American shore, close in to Boston, where several armed American ships were lying, and where a public feast was preparing to honour the triumph of the officers and crew of the 'Chesapeake;' it was a battle wherein the Americans had every incentive to exertion, and they did their best. A sea-prophet had said or sung, eight months before the encounter took place—

> "And, as the war they did provoke,
> We'll pay them with our cannon:
> The first to do it will be BROKE,
> In the gallant ship, the SHANNON."

But, although the forte of the 'Shannon' lay in her admirable gunnery (Captain Broke had sedulously trained his people to the use of their guns, and spent his own money to make up for the niggardliness of the government, and supply his men with plenty of ammunition to practise with), it was not by the fire of her guns, but by boarding, that the 'Shannon' beat the 'Chesapeake,' hoisted "the old ensign over the Yankee colours," and led her away in triumph before the eyes of all her friends ashore.

The capture of that immense frigate the 'President,' which had had many narrow escapes, was the last naval contest; and took place some weeks after the signature, in Europe, of a peace between Great Britain and the United States, but before the news of that event had reached America.

By land, the republicans continued to show how much their hearts were set upon annexing Canada to their dominions. In spite of the defeats, losses, surrenders, and disgraces of the year 1812, they renewed their attempt in 1813. By a sudden movement by water, York, on Lake Ontario, in Upper Canada, was taken, by General Dearborn, who was supported by an American fresh-water flotilla, under Commodore Chauncey. General Sheaffe, who had about 700 men, British regulars and Canadian militia, and a few Red Indians, drew off his regulars, and left the rest to capitulate within the town;

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wherein considerable public stores were lost. The great lakes now became the most active scene of warfare—of an amphibious sort of warfare—for the same men often fought one day on water and the next day on land; now in extemporized fir-flotillas, and now in forts or in positions on the banks of those lakes. This had been foreseen and ought to have been provided for, as nearly everything depended on the establishment of a naval superiority on the lakes. Our squadron on Lake Ontario had been left miserably weak, and the efforts to increase its strength were not proportionate to those made by the Americans. In 1813, when the first action of any consequence took place on that lake, Sir James Yeo was, indeed, strong enough to defeat Commodore Chauncey, and to capture two schooners of the American squadron or flotilla; but the Americans avoided a general action, until some new vessels they had laid down should be completed.

The republicans, after embarking the captured stores of the town of York, sailed for Niagara, and concentrated 6000 infantry, 250 cavalry, and a good train of artillery upon that point. Their flotilla had the water all to itself; and under its destructive fire General Dearborn made good his landing on the Canadian shore. Our troops and the Canadian militia, out-numbered, as four or five to one, were compelled to give way, after making a gallant stand and suffering a heavy loss. General Vincent, our commander on the Niagara, retired up the strait, collected the small garrisons of Fort Erie and other posts, mustered about 1600 bayonets in all, and gained a good position in Burlington Bay, fifty miles from Fort George, in spite of the efforts of the enemy to intercept him. On the evening of the 4th of June (1813) Vincent saw the Americans approaching his position by the lake shore. On the following morning, intending to attack Vincent in this position, with 3500 men and 9 pieces of artillery, they encamped within five or six miles. Lieutenant Colonel Harvey, the British deputy-adjutant-general, reconnoitred this republican camp, and then proposed to surprise it by night. General Vincent agreed: and, at

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the dead of night, the halves of two British regiments, mustering precisely 704 men, rushed with fixed bayonets into the American camp, headed by Colonel Harvey. The surprise was complete; the republicans fled in every direction, leaving two general officers, 100 prisoners, and four field-pieces behind them.

In the meanwhile, Sir George Prevost, waking from a long slumber, agreed to go with Sir James Yeo and his squadron, to make an attack upon Sackett's Harbour, and destroy the forts, the arsenals, and the dock-yard, where the Americans had a frigate almost ready for launching, and several other vessels: but when this wavering and spiritless general reconnoitred the place he would not venture an attack, and returned across the water towards Kingstown. Then he changed his mind and went back to Sackett's Harbour; and (but not without more wavering and loss of time) our troops, about 750 strong, were landed. The Americans were presently driven at the bayonet's point into some loop-holed barracks and forts; and so panic-stricken were they that they immediately set fire to their new frigate, their naval barracks and arsenal, and destroyed a gun-brig and all the stores which had so recently been captured at York. While the arsenal was in flames, while the Americans were flying through the village, and when the complete success of the assailants was certain, Sir George Prevost sent a precipitate order for retreat, merely because a momentary resistance was offered by a party of Americans who had taken refuge in the log-barracks!

If the destruction at Sackett's Harbour had been completed, we should have deprived the Americans of every prospect of obtaining the ascendancy on the lake. Sir James Yeo, after carrying Sir George Prevost and his troops back to Kingston, proceeded to the head of the lake with reinforcements for General Vincent. As soon as he approached, the American army, which had never recovered from the effects of Colonel Harvey's night attack, fled along the lake shore until they reached Fort George; where their general, Dearborn, evacuating all the Canadian bank of the Niagara, shut himself up in

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a strong entrenched camp, with about 5000 men. Something was expected from the energy and enterprise of General Vincent, but Major-General Rottenburg, who had been appointed governor of Upper Canada, assumed the command as Vincent's superior officer, and during the months of July, August, and September (1813) nothing was done by the British in this quarter.

Before attacking the Niagara frontier, the republicans had commenced offensive operations on the Detroit frontier and on Lake Erie. By the end of January they had overrun the Michigan territory, and had advanced one wing of this army towards the village of Frenchtown, twenty-six miles from Detroit. This American wing was about 1200 strong, and was commanded by Brigadier-General Winchester, an old officer who had gained distinction in their war of independence. There was nothing in its front but Colonel Procter, whose force was inferior, and of the most motley description. Sir George Prevost, as commander-in-chief, had strictly commanded Procter not to undertake offensive operations; but old Winchester's too bold advance gave Procter an opportunity which he was determined not to lose. With less than 500 regular troops, militia, provincial sailors, with four light guns and a band of 500 or 600 Red Indians, Colonel Procter gallantly advanced against Winchester and his Americans, surprised them by night in their quarters at Frenchtown, captured or destroyed one-half of them, and reduced the others to surrender upon promise of quarter. General Harrison, who commanded the rest of this army of invasion, was so dismayed at Winchester's disaster that, though still powerful in numbers, he abandoned his intention of advancing into Canada, and began to fortify himself near the rapids of the Miami river, which falls into Lake Erie. About the middle of April, Procter, now allowed to act on the offensive, embarked his entire force on board the flotilla on Lake Erie, made for the mouth of the Miami, ascended that river, and landed troops, stores, and ordnance on the 28th of April, within two miles of Fort Meigs, the key of General Harrison's fortified camp. Procter had with

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him some heavy ordnance, 520 regulars, and 460 militia; the Indian warriors co-operating with him were about 1200. Harrison's force, well covered in his fortified camp, considerably exceeded that of Procter, who now erected batteries, and began to cannonade him from the opposite bank of the Miami. The Americans responded to this fire with eighteen pieces of heavy ordnance, mounted in Fort Meigs. The English fired some red-hot shot, but Harrison's block-houses, &c., would not take fire and burn, the wood being so very green. On the 5th of May, General Harrison's long-expected reinforcements made a rapid and sudden descent down the river in boats. They were 1300 strong, and under the command of General Clay. As the boats drew near, Harrison made a *sortie* to aid the disembarkation. For a moment the English batteries were in the hands of the enemy, together with some prisoners; but Procter, after pouring in one or two volleys of musketry, point blank, ordered a bayonet charge, and this charge not only repulsed those who had got into our batteries, but threw the whole of General Clay's force into confusion and headlong flight. The Indian warriors fell upon the fugitives; 550 were made prisoners, and the killed and wounded were estimated at as many more. After this brilliant affair the Indians returned to the Detroit frontier with their prisoners, their wounded, and their booty; the Canadian militiamen went home to attend to their farms; and Sir George Prevost had provided no regular force to support Procter's operations. That brave officer was, therefore, obliged to rest satisfied with what he had done, to abandon the notion of forcing Harrison to capitulate in his fortified camp, and to follow the Indians and the militia-men to Detroit. The republicans now abandoned all intention of advancing against that frontier, until they could obtain a naval superiority on Lake Erie. Sir James Yeo had detached Captain Barclay, of the royal navy, to assume the command on that lake. Barclay was an officer of heroic courage and of distinguished ability; but the means put at his disposal were of the worst or most limited kind. He had been allowed to bring with him

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from the Ontario squadron only twenty-five regular sailors. But Sir George Prevost, who had shown so little alacrity in taking, told these brave men that the ordnance and naval stores they required must be taken from the enemy, whose resources must become theirs! But to take, one must have the power—to fight, one must have men proper for the service. On the 13th of July, Procter wrote to Prevost to tell him that "even 100 seamen pushed on immediately, would, in all probability, secure the superiority on this lake;" that he was already weakened on shore by his efforts to enable Captain Barclay to appear on the lake; that if he did not receive 100 seamen, he should be under the necessity of sending still more soldiers on board the vessels. On the 18th of August Procter wrote again, telling the commander-in-chief that Captain Barclay had not received one seaman, and that the Americans were appearing on that part of Lake Erie in very superior force. Still, a new fir-built vessel, called the 'Detroit,' had been improvised, had been launched on the lake; "if we had but seamen, a few hours would place this district in security." "I entreat your excellency," added Procter, "to send me the means of continuing this contest!" And now it was that Sir George Prevost, instead of sending seamen, sent a letter, which, all the circumstances being considered, was ungenerous, insulting, absurd, and at the same time, horrible—horrible, as it went to inflame high-spirited officers, and to sacrifice the lives of brave men in a most unequal and hopeless contest. This precious commander-in-chief, who had so recently run away from Sackett's Harbour, wrote to Procter—"Although your situation may be one of difficulty, you cannot fail of honourably surmounting it, notwithstanding the numerical superiority of the enemy's force. The experience obtained by Sir James Yeo's conduct towards a fleet infinitely superior to the one under his command will satisfy Captain Barclay that he has only to dare, and the enemy is discomfited." And Barclay, to whom such a man as Prevost applied such a taunt, was a man of the Nelson

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stamp, and one who had lost a limb under that hero! General Procter said, in reply,—"Your excellency speaks of seamen, valorous and well-disciplined. Except, I believe, the *twenty-six* whom Captain Barclay brought with him, there are none of that description on this lake. On board of his majesty's squadron there are scarcely enough hands (and those of a miserable description) to work the vessels, some of which cannot be used for want of men, even such as we have. . . . . Seamen should be pushed on here, even by dozens." At last Sir George Prevost did push on *forty* seamen, intimating his expectation that, as soon as this great reinforcement should arrive, Captain Barclay would "make his appearance on the lake to meet the enemy." But Barclay had now no option left him. On the 9th of September the last barrel of flour was consumed, and there was no alternative between his clearing the lake communication and the starvation of our troops. On the very next day, the 10th of September, the most desperate of all these lake actions was fought. Captain Barclay had the 'Detroit,' which was rigged as a barque, and mounted 18 guns; another three-masted craft of 18 guns, a brig of 10 guns, a schooner of 14, and two gun-boats, carrying the first three guns, and the second one gun. These guns were not proper ship guns, nor was there any uniformity of calibre: they had been stripped from the forts on the Detroit frontier. One of the three-masted vessels, and the brig, had each guns of four different calibres on the same deck, from *twenty-four* to *two* pounders. For want of proper implements, the men were obliged to discharge these strange ship guns by snapping pistols over the touch-hole. The crews of the whole flotilla consisted of 61 British seamen, 85 Canadians, and 210 soldiers of two different regiments—total, 356. The American commodore, Perry, had two large brigs and eight schooners, heavily armed. The American squadron mounted altogether but 54 guns; but they were properly supplied with implements of gunnery, their guns were of better quality or of better assorted calibres, and, owing

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to the large proportion of their shifting and pivot pieces, they could present in broadside exactly the same number of guns as the British; while their aggregate weight of broadside was fully double that of their assailants. To complete his advantages, Commodore Perry had picked crews to all his vessels, particularly on board the 'Lawrence,' his flag-ship, and her sister brig; and his total of men amounted, at the very least, to 580. It is not astonishing that the English flotilla was beaten; but it is astonishing that it should have been able to maintain the desperate contest for three long hours. The day was not lost until the first and second in command of every one of the English vessels had been killed or dangerously wounded. The heroic Barclay had lost one arm serving under Nelson, and now the other arm was mutilated before he quitted his deck. Of the ten experienced British seamen on board the 'Detroit,' eight were killed or wounded. When every hope of success or of escape was gone, the second lieutenant of the 'Detroit' (the first lying mortally wounded) ordered the colours to be struck. Two other English vessels struck about the same time; the rest of the flotilla were overtaken and captured in their retreat. The total loss on board the British vessels in killed and wounded was 135. The American loss in killed and wounded was 123. This catastrophe rendered inevitable the rapid retreat of General Procter and the Indian chiefs that were acting with him. They therefore began to dismantle the forts and to abandon all the positions on the Detroit, thus leaving the Michigan territory again in the possession of the Americans. But they could no longer retreat without fighting. General Harrison passed over between 5000 and 6000 men, and interposed between Procter and the country to which he was directing his steps. The Indian allies had dwindled from 3000 to 500, and Procter's regular force consisted of about 500 effectives. The Americans gained what they do not hesitate to call a splendid victory. They killed the famed Indian chief Tecumthé, and cut up his skin into razor-strops, to be presented to Mr. Clay of Virginia, and to other bright

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ornaments of Congress and the country.* Once more the republican hopes ran high. They considered Upper Canada as almost conquered by the defeat of Procter; and their conviction was confirmed by the panic of Sir George Prevost, and by the orders he issued—orders which had the effect of disheartening the Canadians. Three American armies, or three gatherings of men which they called armies, were put in motion for different parts of the Canada frontier in the month of October. While Harrison proceeded along Lake Erie with his 5000 or 6000, General Wilkinson, taking his departure from Sackett's Harbour, crossed Lake Ontario with nearly 10,000 men, and effected a landing near Kingston; and a third force under General Hampton marched upon Montreal. General Rottenburg had left his command on the Niagara to General Vincent, and had moved with reinforcements towards Kingston. Vincent, destroying great quantities of provisions and stores, retreated to Burlington, where he was joined by the remainder of Procter's troops; and no sooner had Sir George Prevost heard of Harrison's success, than he dispatched orders from Montreal to General Vincent to evacuate the whole of Upper Canada as low down as Kingston. If these mad, cowardly orders had been obeyed, Upper Canada would have been lost, the troops of Vincent and Procter would have been lost, with ordnance, ammunition, and stores; and Kingston also must have been lost, with its fortress, ships, and arsenal, for the place contained provisions for only seven days, and the depôt of provisions at York would have been lost before Kingston. But fortunately there were several officers of rank in General Vincent's army who took upon themselves the responsibility of disobeying the orders of the commander-in-chief. Vincent was persuaded to be disobedient; and the recovery of the Niagara frontier was the result. Nothing was ever more disgraceful than the panic of Sir George Prevost. The

* This is fact. Clay is said to have boasted of possessing such a razor-strop.

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American corps were an undisciplined rabble, ready to fall into a panic themselves at any hostile movement or show of resistance. Hampton, Harrison, and Wilkinson were all put to a disgraceful rout. Only one of the three republican generals fought a battle, and he was beaten by a corps not a sixth part so numerous as his own, and lost, rather in the flight than in the fight, about 1000 men. By the middle of December both Upper and Lower Canada were entirely freed from the presence of the invaders. Some of them, before they fled back to their own country, committed sundry atrocities, which were soon afterwards avenged at Washington and elsewhere. They burned towns and villages to the ground, in order to punish the poor Canadians for their perversity and wickedness in not turning rebels and joining them. But the republicans could not keep their own frontier free from invasion. Colonel Murray, with less than 500 men, crossed the water, attacked their fort of Niagara, carried it by escalade with a trifling loss, killed or took prisoners the whole garrison, and captured a large quantity of arms and stores. The American general Hull came hastily up to the town of Buffalo to check the further progress of the British; but, being attacked on the 30th of December by a thousand regulars and militia, and 300 or 400 Indians, he was entirely routed. All that part of their frontier was laid open and bare. Such armies as Hull's never rally: he had 2000 men when he came to Buffalo; but after the battle he could hardly collect 200.

While the Americans were struggling on the great lakes and on the outskirts of Canada, our blockading squadrons from the ocean sent light vessels far up several of their rivers, to seize or destroy the repositories of stores on the banks. In this manner the rivers at the head of the Chesapeake were all threaded in the course of the year 1813. These operations, to which nearly every part of the American coast on the Atlantic was exposed, relieved the monotony of the blockading service, and did something more—they increased the impatience of the inhabitants for reconciliation and peace, and greatly

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embarrassed and weakened President Madison's government. Before the end of the year 1813, some of the states declared in a very unequivocal manner that Madison was ruining the country by persevering in a war which he had commenced without any necessity, and that rather than be denied any longer the advantages of a peace with England they would sacrifice their advantages as members of the federal republic.

In the year 1814 the Americans once more made great preparations on the lakes for the conquest of Canada. They had scarcely one glimpse of success: the Canadians were more than ever loyal and on the alert, and reinforcements to the regular army arrived from Europe. In the month of April a force under General Drummond embarked in Sir James Yeo's flotilla, crossed Lake Ontario, and stormed and carried the American frontier fort of Oswego. The garrison fled into the woods. after fighting for only ten minutes. The fort was destroyed, the barracks were burned; and the English troops were re-embarked. In May, an attempt was made to destroy some naval stores which the Americans were transporting to Sackett's Harbour, for the equipment of the flotilla there, but was repulsed with loss. At the beginning of July, a new republican hero, Major-General Brown, took the field, crossed the Niagara in force, obliged the garrison of Fort Erie to capitulate, and advanced into Canada. As he approached the British lines of Chippewa, General Riall, with a very inferior force, consisting partly of militiamen and Red Indians, made a sortie. A smart action followed, in which both parties sustained considerable loss, but in which the advantage clearly remained with the Americans. Riall retreated to a better position near Fort Niagara. General Drummond, with part of Wellington's veterans, who had been embarked at Bordeaux after the battle of Toulouse, now came up and reinforced Riall. The American, Brown, counting on his superiority of numbers, which was still great, presumptuously risked a pitched battle in an open field. At first he gained a temporary advantage, during which General Riall was wounded and taken

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prisoner; but, when Drummond and the veterans of the Peninsular war came fairly into action, the very imperfectly disciplined republicans confessed their inferiority by retreat and flight. This battle was fought on the 25th of July (1814), close to the mighty cataract of the Niagara—so close that the dash and roar of the water were heard amidst the firing of twenty-four pieces of ordnance and 8000 muskets. The Americans engaged were estimated at 5000; the number of the British and Canadians did not exceed 3000. The Red Indians, our allies, ran away early in the battle. Our loss reached nearly 900 in killed and wounded. The republicans lost 1500. They retreated most precipitately to Chippewa, and from thence to Fort Erie, abandoning a camp they had fortified, and destroying their stores. On the 15th of August, Drummond was repulsed with great loss in a rather rash attempt to carry Fort Erie by storm.

On that same day ruin was approaching the city of Washington, the nominal capital of all the United States, the seat of the central government, and the meeting-place of Congress. Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane, having on board the land troops of Major-General Ross, another hero of the Peninsula, entered the Patuxent river. At the proper point the troops were landed, and began to ascend the bank of the river on their way towards Washington; Admiral Cockburn, with a flotilla of launches, armed boats, and small craft, proceeding up the river on their flank. The American flotilla of Commodore Barney had sought refuge in the Patuxent; and as the British boats opened the reach above Pig Point they perceived Barney's flag flying in the headmost vessel, a large sloop, and the rest of his flotilla extending in a long line astern of this sloop. It was thought that Barney intended to dispute the passage of the river by fighting; but as Cockburn got near he discovered that some of the American vessels were on fire. The English admiral called a timeous halt: the American craft burned fiercely, and blew up in succession. Sixteen were totally destroyed; the seventeenth fell into the hands of the English little injured, together with

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about thirteen merchant schooners. Sailors and soldiers all believed that Commodore Barney had left his flotilla and his flag flying as a decoy, in the hope that the British would approach them precipitately, and so be blown up with them. In this light the incident on the Patuxent river was noted down by the forces that were now getting close to Washington. On the 24th of August, Major-General Ross and his troops reached Bladensberg, a village within five miles of that capital. Here, on the right bank of the Potomac, and along a chain of commanding heights, 8000 or 9000 Americans were posted, to cover and defend their capital. President Madison was on the hills when the battle began; but he did not find it convenient to stay and see the battle finished, short as it was. To get at the position the British had to cross the Potomac by a single bridge, which the Americans guarded with artillery. But the bridge was carried in a trice by a light brigade, and then the rest of the troops passed over, deployed, and attacked the right and left of the enemy at one and the same moment. The whole affair did not occupy half an hour, and did not engage more than one British division, about 1600 strong. The Americans broke and fled, very few of them waiting to be either killed or wounded. That evening the British were in Washington, where they immediately began the work of destruction which was the main purpose of the expedition. The president's palace, the Capitol, the Senate House and House of Representatives, the treasury, the war-office, the arsenal, the dockyard, the ropewalk, were committed to the flames, and the great bridge across the Potomac and other public works were blown up and destroyed. A frigate ready to be launched, and a sloop of war, were consumed in the dockyard. Private property was to be respected, and strict discipline was to be observed by the troops. General Ross's orders to this effect were very positive, and the British accounts say that they were strictly observed. On the following night, the 25th of August, a leisurely retreat was commenced; and the British troops, having met with no molestation on their

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return, were re-embarked on the 30th. The town of Alexandria, lower on the Potomac river than Washington city, was attacked on the 27th of August by Captain Gordon of the 'Seahorse,' attended by other vessels. Fort Washington, built to protect the river at that point, was abandoned by its defenders after a very short bombardment. The town council of Alexandria agreed to deliver up all public property, and Gordon agreed to respect all private property. All the naval and ordnance stores, all the shipping and their furniture, were surrendered; and the captors loaded their own ships with spoil, and, stowing away the stores, &c., in twenty-one vessels which were found in the harbour, passed down the river, very little injured by the batteries, and got safely out to the Chesapeake. On the 12th of September, a very imprudent and unsuccessful attack was made on the strongly fortified city of Baltimore, which cost the life of General Ross, and the lives of a good number of his men; though here again a great force of Americans that attempted to defend the approaches of the town (within which there was a still larger force) was defeated and routed by a very inferior force of British regulars, and lost in killed and wounded some 600 or 800 men. The loud outcry made by President Madison proved how sensibly the Americans felt this desultory but destructive system of warfare. It allowed them no repose—it threatened every part of the coast at once—none could tell where the next blow would be struck. In the month of July, Colonel Pilkington took all the islands in the bay of Pasquamoddy; and in another expedition, undertaken in September, the British sailed up the Penobscott river, took the fort of Castine, landed in a cove within three miles of the town of Hampden, defeated double their number, drove the Americans from a strong position, and compelled them to burn the 'John Adams,' a fine frigate, which had run up the river for protection. They also captured the town of Bangor, and another fortified post, and reduced the whole district of Maine from Pasquamoddy bay to the Penobscott river.

Sir George Prevost, having now a large disposable

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force, including some of the finest regiments that had been trained under the Duke of Wellington, thought he could repay the Americans for their troublesome visits Canada, by invading their most flourishing state of New York. Before moving, he ought to have made sure of the superiority on the waters of Lake Champlain. Nothing could better have contributed to this end, than the capture or destruction of the naval and other depôts at Sackett's Harbour; and this would have given him the mastery on Lake Ontario, which was an object almost as important as any that he could reasonably propose to himself in his more distant expedition. He had wasted some of the most valuable of the summer months in a camp at Chambly, while Sir James Yeo was blockading Sackett's Harbour (a doubtful sort of blockade, since the American commodore was already stronger than Sir James, and was only waiting to be made still stronger by the shipwrights and riggers hard at work in Sackett's Harbour); but, though Sir George had ample means of attack, and a few days' march would have brought him before the defences of that important arsenal, he made no effort whatever against it. When the veteran troops from Bordeaux landed, every man in the army or in the provinces of Canada expected that he would fall on. But no! there he continued to lie at Chambly, doing nothing. The American government felt, though our commander-in-chief would not, that all other objects on the frontier were insignificant in comparison with Sackett's Harbour; and they sent General Izzard, who now commanded on the Champlain frontier, with between 3000 and 4000 regular troops, to take post within it and in its vicinity. This movement of General Izzard left nothing near the frontier of Lower Canada but some 1500 men, the very refuse of his army. From such refuse nothing was to be feared; the local Canadian militia would have been far more than a match for them. Sir George Prevost could not, therefore, plead that his inactivity in his camp at Chambly was owing to any apprehension of an attack on the frontier of Lower Canada. During the whole month of August, the Peninsular

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troops, ready to march anywhere, and fit for any work, were detained in the camp for which Sir George had conceived so steady an affection. At last the note of preparation was heard; and now all eyes were directed towards Sackett's Harbour. But, says a truth-speaking man, "by a strange perversity of intellect, Sir George Prevost again shunned that place as a pestilence;"* and Plattsburg, on Lake Champlain, was found to be the object of the expedition! To complete the certainty of ill success, Sir George in person took the command of the whole army. The force was composed of a regiment of light cavalry, a numerous train of artillery, and three brigades of the best infantry in the British service or in the world, led by Major-Generals Brisbane, Robinson, and Power, and amounting in all to 11,000 men. On the 3rd of September these troops began their march, which was so managed by Sir George Prevost, that, though the distance was only twenty-five miles along the the lake shore, four days were consumed in performing it. On the evening of the 6th, the army arrived on the left bank of the little river Saranac, on the opposite bank of which stood the village of Plattsburg, and on a ridge above it the American defences, consisting of some stockades, three unfinished redoubts, and two block-houses, armed in all with from fifteen to twenty pieces of ordnance. The American flotilla of Lake Champlain lay at anchor in Plattsburg Bay. It was at first confidently expected, and then eagerly proposed to the commander-in-chief, that an assault should be made that very evening. The British troops were fresh, having made but a very short march; the American troops were that refuse of General Izzard's army, of which we have spoken, and some 3000 or 4000 militiamen, who had run in haste and confusion to the spot, and who would have run much more hastily back again if hotly and closely attacked. The defences were

* The Letters of Veritas; containing a succinct narrative of the military administration of Sir George Prevost, during his command in the Canadas, &c. Montreal.

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altogether very incomplete: the American flotilla, as a flotilla, could have done nothing, either to defend the works or impede the attack. One veteran British brigade, with a few well-served guns, and a few Congreve rockets, would have done the work in half an hour. But Sir George Prevost, after losing four days on a march which might easily have been effected in two days, chose to halt for other five days in front of this American rabble, as if for the express purpose of allowing them time to complete their works, and gain confidence, and receive reinforcements. The reason he assigned was the presence of the American flotilla, which could do nothing to check what ought to have been his immediate object, and which was perfectly well known to exist where it was before he began his march from Chambly. For ulterior operations, beyond the possession of Plattsburg, the assistance of a British flotilla and our superiority on the lake were requisite, and the commander-in-chief ought not to have commenced his march before his flotilla was ready. After wasting months, he might have waited a few days longer in his camp; but, having displayed his plan of operation, and having advanced to Plattsburg, he ought to have attained so much of his object as the reduction of that place; and he might have attained it with ease, and without the slightest necessity for the aid of a flotilla. But Sir George was of that class of men who expect everything to be done by others, nothing by themselves: and nothing would he undertake until our crazy flotilla should arrive, and destroy that of the enemy. Poor Barclay's squadron on Lake Erie was as bad as we have seen; but Captain Downie's, on this Lake Champlain, was infinitely worse. Early on the morning of the 11th of September, Captain Downie came boldly up with his squadron, and announced to the army the preconcerted signal of the scaling of his guns. The firing was heard by every man in that army. Then, 'Forward columns of attack?'—No such thing!—there came the order for the troops *to cook!* Not a platoon had been permitted to form when our ships rounded the promontory, stood into the bay, and attacked

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the Americans. Captain Downie told his crew that the troops would presently storm the works on shore, and his people began the action with much gallantry. The gallant Downie was killed about ten minutes after the battle began, but his ship was courageously fought for two hours longer, under almost every disadvantageous and discouraging circumstance, the army all the while not stirring a foot. After a determined struggle of two hours and twenty minutes, the ship, the brig, and one sloop, which in fact had maintained the battle against the whole of the American squadron, were successively reduced to strike their colours.* Sir George Prevost was a passive spectator of the slaughter and discomfiture of these brave men. Once, indeed, he gave the order to advance, but he gave it only to recall it again, just as our light troops were getting close in upon the American works. But the disgrace to our arms was not yet complete. Sir George said that there was nothing now to be done, that to gain possession of Plattsburg would cost more than the place was worth! and that consequently the army must retreat. Stung into madness, 800 British veterans deserted from the camp. The retreat commenced on the very night of that fatal and for ever disgraceful 11th of September, with the abandonment of immense quantities of stores, ammunition, and provisions.

The one single ability which Sir George Prevost had displayed during his command in Canada was that of blinding the eyes of the British government to his incapacity, or of shifting upon other men's shoulders the crushing weight of his own misconduct and accumulated blunders. But now the dust was cleared from the eyes of the government, the mist of his false representations was dispersed; Sir James Yeo preferred most serious charges against him, and particularly for his neglect to co-operate with Captain Downie, and he was im-

* James's Naval Hist.—Quart. Rev. No. LIV.—Official Account by Captain Pring, who commanded the British brig in the action.—Ann. Regist.

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mediately recalled to answer at the bar of his offended country. Disease and a natural death saved him from the vengeance of military law; but as a warning and example, may shame and infamy rest upon his grave!

On the 17th of September of this same year 1814, the Americans in Fort Erie, being joined by volunteers from their militia, made an attack in force upon the intrenched position of General de Watteville. Being repulsed with loss, they evacuated Fort Erie, demolished its works, and retreated to their own shores. This entire evacuation of the Canadian shore of the Niagara terminated all operations in the Upper province. In abandoning the Michigan territory, we had kept possession of the important key-post of Michilimackinac. In the summer of 1814 the republicans made a great effort to recover this post, and did not recover it. It is scarcely necessary to mention the paltry skirmishes and inroads which took place on the frontier of the lower province during the winter. In 1815 the news of peace arrived before the season of the year which allows of extensive military operations in those frost-bound countries. It has been calculated that in three years of warfare, the attempts to carry out the grand plan of President Madison, or to effect the subjugation of the Canadas, were attended with the loss to the republic, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, of nearly 50,000 men, besides an enormous expenditure of treasure and stores and warlike resources.* In the course of 1813, when the republican generals Harrison, Hampton, and Wilkinson were all in motion, co-operating in one great object, the frontiers of Canada were pressed upon by 30,000 men. Yet, when the conditions of the treaty of Ghent demanded restitution of all acquisitions which had been made by either party of the frontiers, the Americans had nothing but the defenceless shore of the Detroit to give in exchange for their fortress of Niagara and their key-possession of Michilimackinac.

* Campaigns in the Canadas, Quart. Rev. No. LIV.

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In the last great land action of the American war, although there was no lack of courage, there was an almost incredible amount of imprudence and miscalculation. Not satisfied with ruining the trade of New Orleans, and all the towns upon the river Mississippi, by blockading that river, our commanders determined to ascend the river and attack the city of New Orleans. This town, upon the eastern bank of the Mississippi, is about 110 miles from the sea; it is built upon a narrow neck of land, confined on one side by the river and on the other by almost impassable morasses; and, though in itself unfortified, it is not easy to conceive a place capable of presenting greater obstacles to an invader. Below the town are some tremendous forts, which completely command the navigation of the river, the current of which is very heady and violent. The assailants could not possibly reach the town by water, and the march by land across the swampy country was difficult in the extreme. Our ill-fated expedition went as far up the Mississippi as it could, and then landed. On the 23rd of December, 1814, part of our troops were repulsed with loss by an American force. But this was only a check; and on Christmas-day General Sir Edward Pakenham, the chief in command, took up a position within six miles of New Orleans. Between the British army and that city the American main body was drawn up, being strongly posted behind a deep canal, which their right covered by the Mississippi, and with their left resting on a thick wood. They had a corps of observation thrown considerably forward, composed of 500 or 600 mounted riflemen, who hovered along Pakenham's front and watched his every motion; and other bodies of riflemen, some mounted and some on foot, lurked in almost every thicket and every sugar-plantation, firing with a sure aim at all stragglers, harassing the English pickets, killing and wounding the sentinels, and preventing the main body from obtaining any sound and refreshing sleep. On the 26th of December, there was some hard fighting; but the attempt of the British to turn the flank of the Americans was unsuccessful. At the end

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of the day Sir Edward Pakenham took up a position two or three miles nearer to the enemy. His near approach, and the course of the fighting, had convinced him that the only practicable mode of assault was to treat the formidable field-works which the republicans had thrown up as one would treat a regular fortification—erect breaching batteries against them, and try to silence their guns. Three days were employed in landing heavy cannon, and making such preparations as were necessary. Having procured the *matériel*, one half of the English army was ordered out on the night of the 31st of December, to throw up a chain of works: the men halted about 300 yards from the enemy's line; and here the greater part of them, laying down their muskets, applied themselves vigorously to their task, while the rest stood armed and prepared for their defence in case the Americans should sally. The night was dark, the English maintained a profound silence, and the Americans kept a bad watch, for it was the last night of the year, and rum and other means of conviviality abounded in the republican camp. In this manner six batteries were completed long before the dawn of New Year's Day, and 30 pieces of heavy cannon were mounted on them. There had not been much digging and trenching. Every storehouse and barn in the country was filled with hogsheads and barrels of sugar and molasses, and these barrels and hogsheads were used instead of earth. Rolling the hogsheads towards the front, the English soldiers placed them upright to form the parapets of the batteries. We had the sugar and molasses, the republicans had the cotton-bags and the unpressed cotton-bales, and hogsheads and barrels besides. The morning of the 1st of January, 1815, was a very dark foggy morning in those swamps and bogs of New Orleans. The day was considerably advanced before the Americans could distinctly discover how near the British had approached to their lines, or see the novel use they had made of their hogsheads of sugar. As the mist cleared away our batteries opened a tremendous fire. The first effect of this firing and of the astonishment of the Americans was seen in the breaking

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of the American ranks, in the dispersion of their different corps, which fled in all directions in the most visible terror and disorder. Even their artillery remained silent. There were, no doubt, cogent reasons against making an assault at this first moment of panic, or so brave an officer as Pakenham would have made it. By degrees the republican infantry rallied; and then their formidable artillery began to answer the British salute with great rapidity and precision. They landed a number of guns from a flotilla, they took every gun from every vessel in the harbour, they increased their artillery to a great amount, and they brought a heavy flank fire as well as a front fire to bear upon Pakenham's 30 cannon in battery. The hogsheads and casks were knocked to pieces, the sugar and molasses thrown all about, a good many of our artillerymen were killed and wounded, and some of our guns were knocked over. Moreover, towards evening our ammunition began to fail, and the incessant fire which had been kept up for many hours began to slacken on our side. The English were obliged to retire, leaving their heavy guns to their fate; but, as no attempt was made by the Americans to secure them, working parties sent out after dark removed such of them as were worth removing. Nothing could tempt the republicans to make a sally or try their fortune in an open field. They knew their strength and their weakness, and they wisely kept behind their river and canals and bogs, and their breastworks of cotton bales, trusting to their superiority in artillery, and to their skill as riflemen. A new plan of operations was invented, which was considered worthy of the good Peninsular school in which Sir Edward Pakenham had studied his profession. It was determined to divide the army, to send part across the river, who should seize the enemy's guns in battery there and turn them on themselves; while the remainder should make a general assault along the whole entrenchment. But, before this plan could be put into execution, it was necessary to cut a canal across the entire neck of land on which our army stood, to admit of boats being brought up for conveying the troops across the river. This was a

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Roman work, and it was executed with a spirit worthy of the legions of Cæsar. The men laboured by turns day and night, one party relieving another after a stated number of hours, in such order as never to let the labour entirely cease: there was no repining, and at last by unremitted exertions they finished their canal on the 6th of January. The unexpected arrival of Major-General Lambert, with the 7th and 43rd, two splendid battalions, mustering together 1600 effective men, raised the spirits of the besiegers. There also came up marines from the fleet, and a body of sailors ready to do or attempt anything. These additions raised Pakenham's force to about 8000 men. The number of armed Americans, of all classes, was estimated at 20,000; and every day brought them some reinforcement from the neighbouring country, from the killing regions of the Kentuckians, and from other parts far and near. Boats were ordered up to the newly-cut canal for the transport of 1400 men; and in these boats Colonel Thornton, with the 85th regiment, the marines, and a party of sailors, was to cross the river, and carry the terrible flanking battery, which mounted 18 or 20 cannon. Thornton was to move in the darkness of night and in silence; he was to land at some distance from the American battery, to rush upon it and seize it by surprise in the dark, but not to begin his fire from it until he should see a certain rocket in the air, which would be the signal that Pakenham was commencing a general attack along the American lines. This was the whole of Pakenham's bold plan. It was deranged by various circumstances. The boats could not arrive at the appointed time; the soil, through which the canal had been dug in so great a hurry, being soft, parts of the bank gave way, choking up the channel and preventing the heaviest of the boats from getting forward; these heavy boats again blocked up the passage, so that none of those which were behind could proceed, and thus, instead of a flotilla for the accommodation of 1400 men, all that could reach their destination, were a number of boats, barely sufficient to contain 350 men. And so much time had been consumed in getting these few boats into

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the river, that the dawn of day was beginning to appear before Colonel Thornton could get across. He made good his landing, and formed on the beach without opposition and alarm; but day had already broke, and Pakenham's signal-rocket was seen in the air while he and his 350 men were yet three miles from the battery, which ought to have been taken three hours ago. This was fatal to the plan; but blunders and negligences occurred in the main army. Besides their canal and their bales of cotton, the Americans had along their great line certain fixed, permanent ramparts. To mount these, and for laying down across the canal, Sir Edward Pakenham had ordered his attacking columns to be provided with ladders and fascines. But the order had been neglected; there was not a single ladder or fascine upon the field when the assault began, nor were any brought up until it was too late. The guns in the battery which Colonel Thornton was to take remained as Pakenham had seen them the preceding day: his signal-rocket went up, but no fire was opened upon the enemy from that battery. The assault along the lines was, however, commenced under a tremendous fire of American artillery. On the left, a detachment of the 21st, under Colonel Rennie, stormed a 3-gun battery and took it, this battery being in advance of the canal or ditch. On the right, a column, composed of the 21st and 4th, supported by the 93rd, crossed the ditch without fascines or ladders; but to scale the parapet without ladders was scarcely possible. Some of the men tried it by mounting upon one another's shoulders, and in this way a few actually entered the works; but they were not supported in time, and were soon laid low by a concentrated crash of musketry. Right and left the columns of attack were compelled to give way; and as they ran back the fire of the American artillery grew hotter and hotter, and some of the battalions betrayed symptoms of disorder and panic. Pakenham, leading on a fresh column of attack in person, received a slight wound in the knee from a musket-ball, which killed his horse under him. Mounting another horse, he again headed the troops, and he was seen, with

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his hat off, encouraging them on the crest of the glacis, when a second ball struck him, and he fell dead into the arms of his aide-de-camp. Generals Keane and Gibbs rode through the ranks, and endeavoured to encourage the assailants, till they were both carried off the field wounded, Gibbs mortally. Other officers were brought down by the keen American marksmen, who fired under cover, and with their rifles in rest. All was now confusion and dismay. Without leaders, without knowing what was to be done, almost without so much as a single subaltern officer left standing, the troops halted and opened, then began to retire, and finally the retreat became a disorderly flight. The strong reserve, however, closed up to cover the retreat, and give time for rallying; and so cautious were the republicans, that they would attempt no pursuit. They remained behind their strong lines, and merely plied their artillery. Thornton and his 350 men beyond the river did nobly, though it was too late. They drove the Americans, consisting in part of a corps of wild Kentuckians, from their positions; they drove three times their own number out of the battery; they took possession of their tents and of their eighteen pieces of cannon. The Americans, expecting no attack on this side of the river, had been taken by surprise, even though it was broad daylight; and the British soldiers, marines, and sailors had fought with the greater spirit from believing that Pakenham's attack (announced by the signal rocket) was succeeding. But, before they could turn the captured guns upon the enemy, Colonel Thornton learned the true state of the case from the messenger who brought him an order to retreat immediately, recross the river, and join the main body of the army.* As Thornton retreated, the Kentuckians and their comrades began to return to their batteries; but, notwithstanding their

* The Campaigns of the British Army at Washington and New Orleans, in the years 1814-1815, by the author of The Subaltern. Fourth edition, corrected and revised. London 1836.—Dispatches of Generals Lambert and Keane.

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great superiority of numbers, so very little stomach did they show for fighting in open ground, that they stopped by their recovered works, and gave no pursuit; and thus, under cover of some smoke which they raised by setting fire to a house, the English got back to their boats and crossed the river without molestation, carrying with them a good part of the American artillery which they had captured. As soon as the whole army was reunited, a flag of truce was dispatched by General Lambert, upon whom the command devolved, with proposals for a suspension of hostilities to collect and bury the dead. The Americans readily agreed to a truce of two days. General Lambert wisely abandoned the notion of making another attempt. But before he could begin a retreat, it was found necessary to make a road across an execrable morass some miles in extent. This work occupied nine days, during which the British army remained in position within cannon-shot distance of the American lines; and, although the fame of their success brought more and more volunteers to swell the force behind those lines, no sally was made, nothing was attempted beyond firing of long shots with their big guns. When General Lambert began to move off—which was not until the 18th of January, when the whole of the wounded, the baggage and stores, the civil officers, commissaries, &c., were well advanced on their way to the English fleet—nothing was abandoned except ten pieces of heavy artillery which had been mounted in front of the bivouac, and which were old ships' guns of little value, and extremely cumbersome—and these guns were rendered perfectly unserviceable before they were left. And such was the skill with which the whole retreat was managed, and such the shyness of the Americans, who even now would not quit their works or attempt any pursuit, that the whole of the army got safely back to the ships lying in the Gulf of Mexico, near the mouth of the Mississippi. It was every way a useless and lamentable expedition (peace had been concluded in Europe before it commenced), and it cost us nearly 2000 men and officers in killed, wounded, and prisoners.

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The last action of the war was the capture of Fort Mobile, in the new Alabama territory of the United States, by General Lambert, who had so ably conducted the retreat from New Orleans, and by Admiral Sir A. Cochrane. The troops were landed as early as the 7th of February, and by the 11th the place was ours, the garrison surrendering as prisoners of war.

During the progress of the war, the British government had made several overtures, direct as well as indirect, for a reconciliation, and every royal speech at the opening of parliament had expressed, with a determination to yield or commit none of our maritime rights, regret for the quarrel, or a wish that it might not be lasting. At first the overtures were met as a confession of fear and weakness—as an avowal that we were sinking under the weight imposed upon us by a war with France in the Old World, and with the republic of the United States in the New World; and, when their ship-of-the-line-like frigates had made old British frigates strike, it was fancied that our spell was broken, that the trident was falling from our hands. Bonaparte's grand disaster in Russia, which was well known all over the United States early in the year 1813, damped, but did not destroy, the hopes of the war-party; for they could not conceive that so gigantic a power as that of the Emperor of the French could be destroyed at one blow. They hoped that the Man of Destiny would prevail against all the embattled crowned *despots* of Europe, in the plains of Germany, in 1813. This hope was shattered by the battle of Leipzig. But in the beginning of 1814, when Bonaparte was fighting on the soil of France,—when the armies of the allies were engaging, far from their own frontiers, in the very heart of the most warlike nation of Europe, they trusted that the star of Napoleon would shine forth again more luminous than ever. It was needful for them to cling to this hope, for the most ardent lover of this war with England well knew that it could not be continued without ruin to the United States, if England should be relieved from the great French war, and be enabled to direct her whole attention to this little

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episode in America. But Bonaparte was beaten inside of France, as he had been beaten outside of France; and the 1814 hope was finished by the capture of Paris, and the abdication of Fontainebleau. Then, and not until then, President Madison and his party utterly despaired of the policy they had adopted, and became really eager for peace. Before this time, however, the pupil of Jefferson had been compelled to pretend a wish to treat. On the 7th of January, 1814, he communicated to Congress copies of a correspondence between Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Monroe. From these letters, it appeared that Lord Castlereagh had proposed the appointment of plenipotentiaries to treat respecting terms of peace, either at London or at Gottenburg, and that the American diplomatist, preserving his proper dignity, had acceded to his lordship's proposition, being authorized so to do by the president, who had made choice of Gottenburg for the scene of the negotiations. The anti-war and anti-French party bitterly assailed the president for not assenting to a like amicable proposition made on the part of England long before: they accused him even now of a design to protract the negotiations, and they told him that this delay would not be borne by the impatient and ruined people of the eastern states. Besides repeating the threat of breaking up the federal union, the people of these eastern states began to declare that they would contribute no money, no men, no stores to the armies set on foot by the central government: that they would keep their own militia at home for their own defence; that *perhaps* they might be driven, by their necessities, to seek a separate reconciliation with Great Britain, &c. So terrible, indeed, were these gales from the north-east, that President Madison, his government, and whole system were well nigh blown away by them. Nor did the president escape without yielding to them: prostrating himself before the blast, he repealed his embargo and non-importation acts! This, he hoped, would tend to allay some of the discontents occasioned by the restrictions on commerce, and remove, at the same time, some of the

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evil and ruinous effects of those restrictions on the American revenue, which was already in a deplorable state. But England frustrated these hopes by the extension of the British blockade along the whole coasts of the United States, which was announced in April, 1814, by Admiral Cochrane. And throughout this last year of the war, Madison had no reason to complain, as he used to do in former times before the war began, that British blockades of coasts were merely paper-blockades; for so closely were the rivers, the great outlets of America, watched; so incessantly was the coast scoured from south to north, and from north to south; so vigilant was the look-out, even close in shore, that a trading vessel could hardly put out to sea—nay, could hardly creep along the coast from one harbour to another—without the dead certainty of being captured by the English. The year 1814 must have been altogether a blank and black year for Madison. He saw Washington burned under his nose; he could do nothing more on the side of Canada; great part of the province of Maine was wrested from the republicans by our expedition on the Penobscott River; he had scarcely a gleam of satisfaction, except in the results of Sir George Prevost's wretched Plattsburg expedition.

The negotiations for peace, which had been removed by mutual consent from Gottenburg to Ghent, commenced in earnest in August, 1814. By means of various applications, and condescensions not quite consistent with the severity of republican principles, though not inconsistent with American practice, Madison and his friends secured the mediation or friendly offices of the Emperor Alexander of Russia. So low was the state of public credit that no loans could be negotiated. Six months of sternness and perseverance on the part of Great Britain would have taught the Americans a salutary lesson; twelve months' perseverance or energy in carrying out our blockade, and without any more expeditions by land, or any other risks and expenses, and the feeble ties which kept the northern and southern states together would have been snapped like a scorched thread. But it was a season of triumph and magnanimity in Europe:—the Emperor of

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Russia was very magnanimous, Lord Castlereagh was very magnanimous, and the people of England were very forgiving, and cared more for a completeness of peace than for the prospective advantages to be derived from the wholesome chastisement which might have been inflicted (perhaps as much to the benefit of the Americans as to our own benefit). The restoration of peace in Europe, with the overthrow of the founder of the continental system, had indeed removed for the present many of the causes of differences between England and the United States; for example, we had no longer any present necessity to insist on our right of search, or on our right of excluding neutral vessels from the blockaded ports of an enemy. But we must deny that the prosecution of a war which could not by any possibility have lasted a year longer would have been a useless expenditure of money and an unjustifiable harshness on our part. The Americans had forced the war upon us in their way, and we ought to have finished it in our way. No principle ought to have been left unsettled, no question relating to boundaries or to anything else left open to be a perennial source of quarrel as soon as America should feel herself strong enough or bold enough to quarrel. As it was, the plenipotentiaries at Ghent resolved to waive every question at issue between us, and to take no notice whatever of the circumstance which had occasioned the war. On the 24th of December, 1814, they concluded and signed a treaty of peace and amity, which was ratified by both governments.

Virtually the long reign of George III. terminated in 1810 with the establishment of the regency; and, having brought the great events which were then in progress to their close, we may with propriety abstain from giving details of the minor events which took place between the year 1815, and the death of the old king. As it now rests there is a kind of epic unity and completeness in the history of this actual reign of fifty years.

George III. died in Windsor Castle on the night of Saturday the 29th of January, 1820, in the 82nd year of his age, and (counting the ten years of the regency) in

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the 60th year of his reign. For some years before his death, he had been totally blind; and it does not appear that any temporary return of reason allowed him to comprehend and rejoice at the issue of the momentous struggle in which he left his country engaged in 1810, when his malady drove him into retirement. We only know that when others desponded his hopes were high, and that, so long as he had reason, he never despaired of the final triumph of England. No man within his realms had a more thoroughly English heart, or a more ardent desire to promote the welfare of the people and the interests and honour of the country. Unpopular in his youth and earliest government, he became endeared to the people in the midst of the misfortunes of the first American war; and perhaps no sovereign had ever been more popular than he was during the last twenty-five years of his reign. The time is not yet come for drawing up an impartial, dispassionate, and complete character; but it may be well remarked now, that nearly every circumstance concerning him which has been brought to light of late years, and nearly every conversation which has been reported, or letter written by him which has been published, have tended to clear away the prejudices of former times, and to raise our estimate not merely of the goodness of his heart and intentions, but also of the powers of his intellect, and of his capacity for public business.

END OF VOL. XXIV.

London: Printed by W. Clowes and Sons, Stamford Street.

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